



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

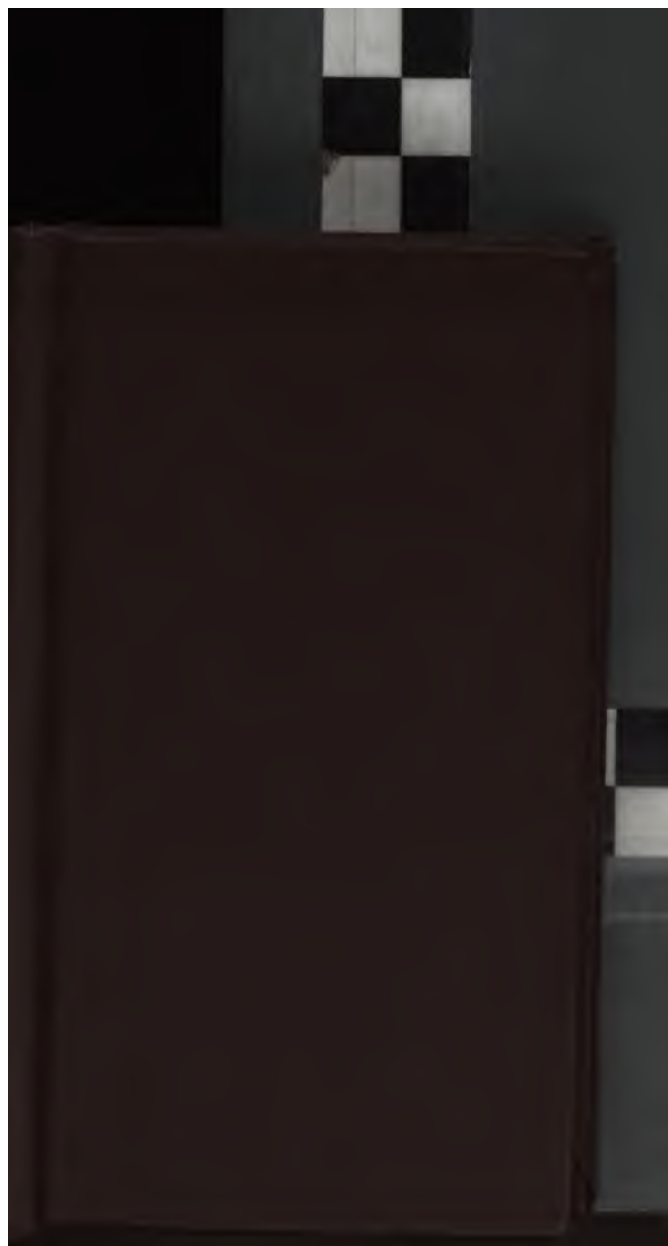
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

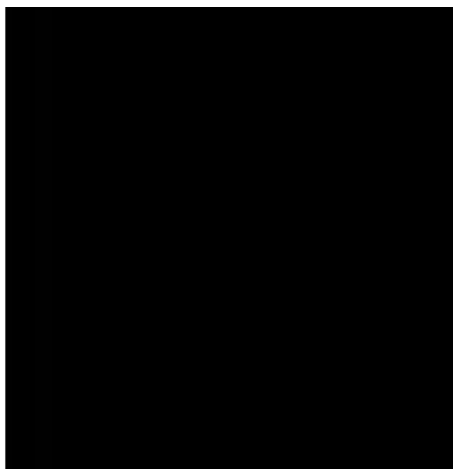
### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



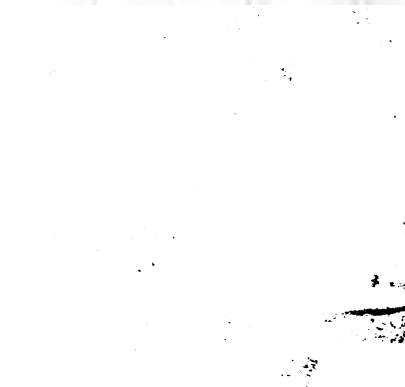


**A** 400616



1





HISTORY  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

WITH  
A SUMMARY VIEW  
OF THE  
*STATE AND CHARACTER OF THE  
COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA*

---

BY JOHN LENDRUM.

---

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

---

VOL. I.

---

EXETER:

PUBLISHED BY J. AND B. WILLIAMS  
1836.



E  
22  
.156  
1836

d according to Act of Congress."

Gift  
L. L. Hubbard

2-13-28

2 vols.

HISTORY

OF THE

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### CHAPTER I.

*A Summary View of the State and Character of  
Colonies of North America.*

About eighty years after the first permanent settlement in Virginia, the territory granted in the original patents to the London and Plymouth colonies was divided into twelve distinct and separate colonies, and, in about fifty years afterwards, Georgia was added to the southern extremity of these provinces, being the only colony which was settled at the invitation of the crown. The greatest part of the first settlers bought of the natives the lands on which they were settled. Some of them, without doubt, were influenced by the purest motives—from a sense of justice that the Indians were the true proprietors of the soil; to which no charter from their own country could, of itself, confer a just title. Others entered into this convention with the Indians from motives of personal security, whatever might have been their opinion concerning the validity of the charters from the crown; this inference may be drawn, from their subsequent quarrels with the Indians and encroachment upon their grounds.

The aboriginal inhabitants were divided into numerous tribes, who were frequently at war with each other. In these quarrels, the Europeans generally took part with the weaker side, in such a manner as to diminish the strength of both parties: the short sightedness of the Europeans, preferring the present pleasure of revenge to the future happiness of their mortal enemies, to the future happiness of the Indians and their posterity. An eminent instance occurs in the history of the Pequod and Narragansett Indians in New England. There was a long and bloody war between the two tribes. The Pequods

warlike among all the neighboring nations, and perceiving themselves unable, alone, to combat the English, were willing to bury their animosity, and offered to enter into a treaty with the Narragansetts against the common enemy. They urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country; and, although they had never heard the story of Polepheme and Ulysses, told the Narragansetts, that all they could hope from the friendship of the English was, the favour of being last devoured. The Narragansetts were deaf to their remonstrances; and the prophesy of the Pequods was at length fulfilled. See Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.

Indian fidelity is proverbial in America, as the Punic faith was in Italy. The Narragansetts are said to have kept the treaty they made with the English, until the Pequod's were destroyed, and then they grew insolent and treacherous.

Notwithstanding the frequent ruptures of the Indians with the colonies, very few, comparatively, have perished by war. Famine, and its companion the pestilence, frequently destroy whole tribes. Their predominant passion for spirituous liquors, in which they have been initiated by the whites, proves likewise repugnant to population. They waste, they moulder away, and, as Charlevoix says of the Indians of Canada, they disappear.

Each of the colonies, after many changes, attained a form of government essentially resembling that of the mother country; wherein ample provision was made for the liberties of the citizens. The royal prerogative and dependence on the British government had no great impression on that of the colonies. Even in those provinces where the governors were most dependent on the crown, they had no higher prerogatives above their fellow subjects, or power over the provincial legislative assemblies, than the king was constitutionally vested with, over the people and legislature in England.

The colonization of North America began at a period when the dread of arbitrary government was the predominant passion of the English nation. Excepting the colony of Georgia, which received its charter in 1732, all the English colonies obtained their charters, and their greatest number of European settlers, in the period between the year 1603 and 1688, when the great struggle commenced between privilege and prerogative, which, in its progress, brought king Charles I. to the block, and ended in the expulsion of his family from the throne.

The founders of the colonies, in general, adopted the wisest policy in settling the vacant lands; by granting them to those only who personally cultivated their purchases. In New England, especially, this equal division of lands was more steadily adhered to, than in any of the other provinces. Instead of dispersing the inhabitants over an extensive country, they successively formed settlements in townships of about six miles square: and arrangements for religious instruction and the education of youth, kept equal pace with the enlargement of the colony. A spirit of liberty and independence gave vigor to industry, and a free constitution guarded their civil and religious rights. Few individuals were either very rich or very poor. They enjoyed that happy state of mediocrity, which is equally favorable to strength of body and vigor of mind.

The New England, or northern colonies, particularly, were settled by a people, who, during the reign of the Stuarts, had been galled by the yoke of despotism; and were, for the most part, adverse to the prerogative of kings, but friendly to republicanism. It would have been very astonishing if such colonists, after having tasted the sweets of liberty in a new land, had not instilled into the minds of their children a love of freedom and an abhorrence of arbitrary government: accordingly, their descendants cherished that jealousy of their rights, which is the true characteristic of freemen.

When the British constitution was renovated by the revolution, in the year 1688, the colonists participated in the blessings of that happy era. It was then that the distinct boundary was fixed between the privileges of the subject and the prerogatives of the sovereign. It was then recognized, to be essential to the constitution of Great Britain, that the people could not be compelled either to pay taxes or be bound by any laws but such as had been granted or enacted, with the consent of themselves or their representatives; and that they could not be affected either in their property, their liberties, or their persons, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of their peers.

The principles upon which that revolution was founded, were, "That taxes were the free gifts of the people to their rulers.—That the authority of the sovereign was to be exercised only for the good of his subjects.—That it was the right of the people to meet together, and peaceably to consider of their grievances.—To petition for a redress of them, and, finally, when intolerable grievances were unredressed, to seek relief, on the failure of petitions and remonstrances, by forcible means."

John Calvin, protested ag-

the Church, and claimed a title to private religious matters; in opposition to the pretended infallibility of the Roman pontiff, in a general council. A majority of the colonists were Dissenters from the Church of England, consisting of a number of different sects who were still more averse to the interference of authority in matters of opinion, than either of the primitive reformers. The greater part of those who retained the liturgy of the Church of England were Independents, as far as the discipline of the church was concerned. The number of Episcopalians, who supported the tenets and discipline of the church as established in England, was comparatively few; excepting in Virginia and Maryland.

It has been already mentioned, in the preceding account of the settlement of the colonies, that religious persecution took place very early in New England, in Virginia, and continued for some time. "No better apology" says Ramsay, "can be made for this inconsistent conduct, than that the true grounds of liberty of conscience were then neither understood, nor practised by any sect of Christians. Nor can any more satisfactory account of so open a dereliction of former promises, be offered, than that human passions, and that

and in every country, have been the  
liberty, when independent, and the  
side of tyranny. Their profession  
the encroachments of power; and to  
tect hidden mischiefs, in measures  
the people seldom perceive until the  
effects.

In an uncultivated country, where  
necessity daily called for every exertion,  
little leisure for speculation. Learning  
uncommon. Their books were of small  
size, and few in number; and these consisted  
such writings as defended the cause of  
ed of the sufferings of their forefathers  
who had ability, and inclination, to give  
a liberal education, had that advantage  
the northern colonies, very early. Harvard  
Massachusetts, was founded in 1638.  
William and Mary, in Virginia, in the  
cut, in the year 1700; and before the  
leges or academies were established in a  
where the sciences flourished under able  
The great body of the people were independent  
freeholders; and their manners, from  
employment, plain, frugal, and  
all of one rank.

from their infancy, the habit of discussing, deliberating and judging of public affairs; and where those sentiments are first formed, which influence their political conduct through life.

The New England colonies were sensible of the advantages of a union at a very early period.

633. The commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, held regular stated and occasional meetings, and kept regular journals of their proceedings, which acquired the name of the Records of the United Colonies of New England. It may not be amiss to observe here, although this union was interrupted by the vacation of their charters during the arbitrary reign of James II. the diffusion of political knowledge continued without abatement, and showed its effects in resisting, upon every occasion, the invasion of their rights.

643. Periodical publications have had a great share in illuminating the minds of the people. And these volumes of intelligence were become numerous long before the American Revolution, in effecting which they bore a small share. "In the year 1720 or 1721, there was only one newspaper published in North America, that was the Boston News-Letter. In 1771 there were twenty five."

view their arms and accoutrements, and to perform their manœuvres.\*

Although the English possessions in America were unequal in natural riches to those of Spain and Portugal, yet they attained a degree of consequence, before the revolutionary war, to which the colonies of these and other powers had not yet reached. The great privileges of the English constitution, the wise and liberal policy of government, in general, for 150 years after the settlement of the colonies, raised them to this exalted rank. They endured considerable hardships, during the reign of the Stuarts; but these stretches of power had not any lasting effect, to retard the growth of their trade and prosperity. England, in most cases, allowed them to govern themselves by such laws as their assemblies thought necessary; especially after the revolution in 1688. She reserved little for herself but the exclusive right to their trade, and that an union under the same sovereign. "Some arbitrary proceedings of governors, proprietary partialities, or democratic jealousies, now and then interrupted the political calm, which generally prevailed among them; but these occasional impediments, for the most part, soon subsided." Portugal and Spain burdened their's with many arbitrary regulations, and punished with severity whatever had the least tendency to infringe upon their interests. France and Holland, were less oppressive only in their measures, but were almost equally coercive. They established companies which sold European commodities to their colonists at an enormous advance, and took the produce of their lands at a low price. They discouraged the produce of more than they could dispose of at excessive profits. A slow advance in wealth and population was the natural effect of such arbitrary measures.

The principal cause of the rapid progress which the British colonies made in wealth and population, under the advantages already mentioned, was, their vigorous and persevering attention to agriculture. They had but few manufactures; those coarser and household ones excepted, necessarily accompanying the progress

\* A regular militia was not introduced into Pennsylvania, until after Braddock's defeat. The prevalence of the Quaker interest prevented the adoption of any system of defence which would compel the citizens to bear arms. However, Dr. Franklin introduced a bill for organizing a militia; by which every man was allowed to take up arms or not as to him would appear fit. In consequence, a very respectable militia was formed  
*Franklin's Life.*



of agriculture, which were the work of the women and children in every private family. The merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers did not amount to one fifteenth of the whole number of inhabitants; and the bulk of the people employed their capitals in cultivating the soil. Even an artificer, who had acquired a little more stock than was necessary for carrying on his own business in supplying the neighboring country, did not attempt to establish, with it, a manufacture for more distant sale, but employed it in the purchase and improvement of uncultivated lands. He felt that an artificer is the servant of his customers; but, that the cultivator of his own lands is really a master, and more independent of all the world, than any other occupation can make him.

These circumstances, happily for the morals of the people, encouraged early marriages; and it has been found, that, in North America, the number of inhabitants doubled in twenty five years, or less; nor was this increase owing principally to immigration of new settlers; but to the great multiplication of the species; and that to a degree, far beyond the proportion of old nations, corrupted and weakened by the vices attending wealth, or depressed by poverty and hard living. Some who lived to old age saw, it is said, from fifty to an hundred, or more, descendants from their own bodies; and labor was so well rewarded, that a numerous family of children, instead of being a burden, became a source of opulence to their parents. The labour of each child upon a farm, before it left the family, was computed to be worth one hundred pounds clear gain to the parents. The value of children being so great an encouragement to marriage, it is no wonder that the people should marry so young. The demand for laborers, and the funds destined for maintaining them, increased, it seems, still faster than they could find laborers to employ.

The northern and southern provinces differed widely in their customs, manners, climate, produce, and in the general face of the country. The middle provinces preserve a medium in all these respects; they are neither so level and hot as the provinces south, nor so hilly and cold as those north and east. The inhabitants of the north were hardy, industrious, frugal, and, in general, intelligent; those of the south were more luxurious, indolent, and uninformed. But, this general character of the people of the different provinces, like all general views, admits of great limitation, and many exceptions. The northern colonists were distinguished for their plainness of manner, while the southern colonists

...of the middle and eastern  
not support the expense of slave cultivation  
sylvania, the slaves were treated with  
than in any of the other colonies.

The origin of the African slave trade  
to the year 1482, when the Portuguese  
slaves from that coast; and after the  
English followed their example. The  
the discovery of America, degraded the  
tants to slavery, for no other reason than  
the power to do it; and as an apology to  
maintained that they were not true men,  
of the brute creation. The kings of Spa  
made laws in favor of the liberties of the  
the yoke was only shifted from the Am  
Africans. "It may be noted as an instar  
consistency natural to men," says Robt  
when Las Casas zealously contended for  
the native Americans, he pronounced it  
and expedient to impose slavery upon t  
Cardinal Zimenes, however, when solicit  
age this commerce, peremptorily rejected  
tion, because he perceived the inquit  
ing one race of men to slavery, whilst he  
ing about the means of restoring liberty  
Unfortunately for the Africans, Las Cas  
adopted; and a patent was

the southern provinces, the soil, were far inferior to them. The agriculture, population and wealth; and this inferiority increased or diminished, both in the relation of one province to another, and in the different parts of the same province, as the number of slaves were contrasted with the number of freemen. The western country being mostly inhabited by freemen, though later settled, sooner attained the means of self defence, and the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life, the just reward of personal industry, than the sea coasts which were cultivated by slaves.

Notwithstanding the difference of manners and habits in the southern provinces, from those which prevailed in the northern, "slavery itself," says Dr. Ramsay, "nurtured a spirit of liberty among the free inhabitants. All men who enjoy personal liberty, will be jealous of their freedom. It is, in itself, a natural enjoyment, but a kind of haughtiness of dominion in them the haughtiness of dominion; the spirit of liberty animates the opposition of a plan to the policy of Great Britain, than a conviction that their rights, to their extent, degraded him to a degree of degradation which existed between his fellow subjects and himself, which existed between his slaves and himself."

The colonists had little gold or silver, but abundance of the riches of nature. Every inhabitant was, or easily might be, a freeholder, settled on his own lands, which produced him at least the necessaries of life. He found himself free and independent. He might hunt, fish, or fowl without injury to his neighbors. These privileges of nature, which in old countries are guarded by penal laws, and monopolized by a few, were common to every individual in America. Colonists grown up in the enjoyment of such rights, felt the restraint of law more feebly than those who are educated in countries, where long habits have made subordination in society, and submission to the laws, familiar. At such an immense distance from the seat of power, they scarcely felt the obligation of dependence; whereas the inhabitants of the parent isle not only saw, but daily felt, the energy of government.

The Americans strenuously opposed, upon every occasion, the idea of taxation without representation; being in direct opposition, both to the British constitution and to their chartered privileges. They Great Britain was fully indemnified, for all her losses in defending the colonies, by a monopoly

...for the support of the human race,  
governments, not for the aggrandizement  
a few, but for the common happiness of all.

In the short space of 150 years the number of  
inhabitants increased to three millions, and to  
to such a degree, as to be more than double  
of Great Britain.\*

When the war commenced, the great  
colonists were of the third and fourth, and  
fifth, and sixth, generations from the original  
settlers. The love for the mother country, as far as  
a natural passion, wore off in successive generations,  
till it had scarcely an existence.

Doctor Ramsay aptly remarks, that "the  
intercourse which connects different countries  
the early period of the English colonies,  
that degree which is necessary to perpetuate  
union. Had the first great colonial establishments  
made in the southern provinces, where the  
of native commodities would have maintained  
and direct trade with England—the constant  
of good offices between the two countries,  
been more likely to perpetuate their friendship.  
supposition is very natural, especially as  
of southern settlers were, of the Church of England,  
whose minds were not soured by persecution,  
had left their native country."

Occasional hostilities with the French and gave but little interruption to the general progress. At length the capture of Louisbourg appeared of world of their national importance; of which account will be given in the next chapter.

—oooo—

## CHAP. II.

*The Capture of Louisburg—French Territories in America after the Peace in 1748—Colonel Waller's First Exploits—Congress held at Albany—Transactions—War with France—Extent of the British Possessions in North America at the Peace in 1763—the Colonies at that Period.*

WHILST the French held possession of the islands of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, the island of Breton was neglected. But after they had ceded the islands to England, and England had ceded the islands to the French by the treaty of Utrecht, it began to see its value. Its central situation, Canada, France and the West Indies, made it considered as extremely favorable to the French.

dore Warren, was expected from to join them.

By a spirited exertion in all orders manment was got ready, and the trans land forces, reached Canseau, the place the fourth of April. The troops from consisted of 3,250, exclusive of command. The New Hampshire forces, 304, included arrived four days before. Those from including 516 men, officers included, arrived fifth. The 300 Rhode Islanders did not place had surrendered.

Towards the end of the month of April Warren arrived with a 60 gun ship. He was soon after joined by another which had reached Canseau a short time before. A ship of war sailed immediately to cruise before. The forces soon followed, and landed at Can Bay the last day of April. The transports covered from the town early in the morning gave the inhabitants the first knowledge.

The second day after landing, 400 men round, behind the hills, to the northern harbor, in the night; where they built houses, containing the naval stores. A thick smoke, proceeding from all the

## HISTORY OF THE

were all animated, indeed, by ardent patriotism; but destitute of professional skill or experience. Dr. Belknap observes, that, "those who were on the spot," had frequently, in his hearing, "laughed at the recital of their own irregularities, and expressed their admiration when they reflected on the almost miraculous preservation of the army from destruction."

The ground was so uneven and the people so scattered, that the French could form no estimate of their numbers: and the English prisoners taken at the island and battery, as if by previous agreement, represented the number to be vastly greater than it was. The garrison of Louisburg had been so mutinous before the siege, on account of the extortion of their commanders, who had appropriated to themselves the profit of the labor of the men in repairing the fortifications, that the officers were afraid to trust them to make a sortie, lest they should desert; had they been united and acted with vigor, the camp might have been surprised and many of the people destroyed.

Whilst the forces were busily employed on shore, the men of war and other vessels were cruising off the harbor, as often as the weather would permit. On the 19th of May, they captured the *Vigilant*, a French gun ship, richly laden with military stores for the relief of the garrison.

It was thought that the news of this capture might have a good effect upon the garrison. The command was hit upon an expedient, which was approved of by general. The late captain of the *Vigilant*, the *quis de la Malsonforte*, was made acquainted with some English prisoners had been taken by a party of French and Indians, and used with cruelty. He desired to write to the governor of the city, to inform him how well the French prisoners were treated of which he had been a witness, and to request in favor for the English prisoners. The humane Mac readily consented; and the letter was sent next day, and was carried before the governor and his officers; and by pretending not to understand the language, he had the advantage of listening to the discourse, by which he found, that they had heard of the capture of the *Vigilant*, and that of it, under the hand of her late commander, they were thrown into a visible perturbation. This was the erection of a battery on the high cliff house, under the direction of lieutenant colonel, by which the island battery was much strengthened, the preparations which were evidently

June 15 general assault, determined Duchambon to  
 o 17. surrender; and accordingly, in a few days  
 he capitulated.

The weather was remarkably fine during the siege, but the rains began the day after the surrender, and continued ten days incessantly, which would undoubtedly have proved fatal to the expedition, had not the capitulation prevented. Upon entering the fortress and viewing its strength, and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the strongest hearts were appalled, and the impracticability of carrying it by assault, was fully demonstrated.

As this was a time when vessels were expected from all parts at Louisburg, the French flag was kept flying as a decoy. Two East Indiamen, and one South Sea ship, of the value of £600,000. sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbour, into which the French ships sailed as usual, not knowing that the place had been taken.

The army supposed that they had a right to a share of these prizes, but means were found to suppress or evade their claim, nor did any of the colony cruizers (except one) though they were retained in the service, under the direction of the commodore, reap any benefit from the captures.

The news of this important victory, filled America with joy, and Europe with astonishment. Much has been ascribed, and much is justly due to the activity and vigilance of commodore Warren, and the ships under his command; much is also due to the vigour and perseverance of the land forces, and the success was doubtless owing, under God, to the joint efforts of both. Pepperell received the title of a baronet, as well as Warren. The latter was promoted to be an admiral; and the former had a commission as colonel in the British establishment, and was empowered to raise a regiment in America, to be in the pay of the crown. The same emolument was given to Shirley, and both he and Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, acquired so much reputation as to be confirmed in their places. And after much difficulty and delay, parliament reimbursed the colonies for their expenses.

The reduction of this important fortress, could not fail to inspire both France and Britain with new and enlarged ideas of the American Colonies, when they had seen New England alone, contribute so essentially to the success of the enterprise.

It had likewise considerable weight in disposing the French to terms of peace. And by the treaty of 1763



la Chappelle, in 1748, restitution was made on both sides, of all places taken during the war.

The mutual eagerness of the rival powers to guard and extend their boundaries of their respective colonies, and jealousy of each other, brought on another war after that in which Louisburg was taken, in which the British provincial troops were distinguished by their active and brave exertions.

France were then in possession of all Canada, and a large tract of the Mississippi. They likewise laid claim to a large extensive tract of land in the neighborhood of the Ohio, which, in the year 1749, had been granted to certain persons in Great Britain and in the colonies, who had a company, The French country, and to the extremities of their territory, and projected a chain of forts from the river St. Lawrence to the river St. Lawrence, and erected some forts in the neighborhood of every British trader.

Whilst these petty wars were going on, governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, resolved to send a person to M. St. Pierre, the French commandant near the Ohio, to demand the reason of these hostile proceedings, and to insist upon the evacuation of a fort which he had already built.

Major Washington, then in the twenty second year of his age, offered his service, which was thankfully accepted. The distance to the French settlement was more than 400 miles, and one half of the route led through a wilderness inhabited only by Indians. He proceeded from Winchester on foot, in an uncommonly severe season, carrying his provisions on his back; and attended by one companion only. Having arrived, he delivered his message to the French commandant, who refused to comply, and claimed the country as belonging to the king his master; declaring that he should continue to seize and send as prisoners to Canada, every Englishman who should attempt to trade on the Ohio, or any of its branches. Before major Washington had got back, or the Virginians had heard of the French commandant's answer, they sent out people provided with materials for erecting a fort at the conflux of the Ohio and Monongahela, whom he met on his return. After excessive hardships and many providential escapes, during his long and tedious undertaking, he arrived safe at Williamsburgh, and on account of his negotiation to the house of burgesses, the fourteenth of February following.

Encroachments and hostilities still increasing,

on towards the Ohio. An engage-  
the enemy ensued, and the French  
this the commandant, M. de Villier  
besides Indians, to attack the Virg  
leader made an able defence with  
behind a small unfinished entrench-  
Necessity; and by his conduct o  
terms of capitulation.

The colonies of Nova Scotia, N  
ginia were principally affected by  
signs of France; and the encroachm  
by that power, were a subject of co  
and in Europe.

It was foreseen that this controver-  
decided but by the sword; and the B  
to be early in their preparations. Th

1754. ness, secretary of state, wrote  
of the American colonies, recom-  
for their mutual protection at  
digest a plan for this purpose, com-  
many of the colonies, met at Albany.

July 4. that a grand council should be  
puties from the several colonies  
president general, should be  
take measures for the common safety,  
money for the execution of their design  
dent general to be appointed by the crown  
ative voice. The delegates of Connect  
entered their dissent to the plan, because  
live voice of the president.

With this dissent

separation of the  
this the British ministry dropped  
but it appears the Massachusetts general court  
information of the ministerial designs to raise a revenue  
in America, as in the month of November 1755, they  
instructed their agent: "It is more especially ex-  
pected, that you oppose every thing that shall have the  
motest tendency to raise a revenue on the plantations  
for any public uses or services of government." May  
following, the agent wrote them that he had not  
to think the inclination still continued to raise a revenue  
out of the molasses trade. The alarming state of  
public affairs, the country being on the eve of war  
with France, might divert the ministry from pursuing  
their inclinations.

Indeed it is obvious that the British ministry  
hold of the alarming situation of the colonies, in  
the year 1754 and 1755, to constrain them into  
knowledge of the right, or to the adoption of mea-  
sures that might afterwards be drawn into pre-  
judice. The colonies, however, with an uncommon  
and firmness, defeated all their attempts.  
was carried on by requisitions on the colonies  
of men and money, or by voluntary contribu-  
tions.

Representations of the French and their  
necessary to endeavor to d

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION

was contemptuously refused. The general, cautioned by the Duke of Cumberland, to a surprise; the same caution was likewise by his own officers, particularly sir Peter Wentworth, entreated him to use the friendly Indians as an advanced guard, in case of ambuscades. He pushed on heedlessly with the first division of 1400 men, till he fell into an ambuscade of Indians, by whom he was defeated, wounded, on the ninth of July 1755. The general put into the greatest panic, and fled in confusion: the militia had been used to Indians and were not so terrified. The general's army fully turned them into the rear, where they stood in a body, unbroken, and, under the command of Washington, served as a rear guard, while the retreat of the regulars, and prevented them from being cut off. Such were the scenes which the great man showed the dawn of those liberties which were called forth, at an after period, to the liberties of his country.

Previous to the defeat of general Braddock, the Massachusetts assembly raised a body of troops, and sent to Nova Scotia to assist lieutenant-general Monro in driving the French from their settlements in that province. The secrecy and success in this service, was rewarded with success.

The expedition against Niagara was undertaken by governor Shirley; but failed through various causes.

Sir William, then colonel, Johnson, was sent to go against Crown Point. The delays, and deficiency of preparations, prevented the success. The Indians joining their troops till about the middle of 1755. In the mean time, the active enemy sent a detachment of forces from France to Canada, to meet the provincials, and attack them. The British meeting with a repulse, lost six hundred men, having their general, baron Dieskau, made prisoner.

In the year 1756, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France; and the Massachusetts raised a body of troops to go against Crown Point; but lord Loudoun, on his arrival, did not think it proper that they should proceed. A temporary misunderstanding afterwards between his lordship and the provincials, from his apprehending, that they thought the law necessary to enforce a British act of parliament, were willing to dispute upon that subject, and declined to have no dispute, but that the command should be quartered agreeably to the terms of the treaty.

## HISTORY OF THE

public good required; and wrote to governor Pownall, "I have ordered the messengers to wait but 48 hours in Boston; and if, on his return, I find things not settled, I will instantly order into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; if more are wanted, I have two in the Jerseys and three in Pennsylvania." Notwithstanding this, on December the sixth, the legislature passed a resolution, which led him to conceive, that he was under the necessity of settling the point at once, and he ordered his troops to march. The general, seeing how matters were going, did not shrink from extremities, but became pliable; so that he wrote, December 26, "As I can now determine the assembly's making the point of quarters for the coming year, I have countermanded the march." The general court were certainly terrified to remove all unfavorable impressions, said in the course of their address to the governor, "The authority of all acts of parliament, which concern the colonies, and extend to them, is acknowledged in all the courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings here. There is not a member of the general assembly who knows no inhabitant within the bounds of the empire, that ever questioned this authority. Any ill consequences that may arise from our holding such principles, we now know them, as we should readily have done last, if there had been occasion for it; and his lordship may be acquainted therewith, and they will appear in a true light, and that no injury will remain to our disadvantage." However the question, whether the authority of acts of parliament, concerning and extending to the colonies, made the rule of all judicial proceedings in them; yet we are not to infer from their contradictory principle, that they admitted the authority of parliament, either to impose internal taxes, or to interfere in colonial government.

In 1758, the administration of Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord of Chatham, united all parties, and restored unanimity and decision to the public mind; the force of the empire was directed with effect to every quarter of the globe.

In the month of August, admiral Boscawen and his fleet captured and demolished Louisbourg, which had been restored to the French by the treaty of 1763. Five or six ships of the line were taken.

4.  
 11.  
 12.  
 13.  
 14.  
 15.  
 16.  
 17.  
 18.  
 19.  
 20.  
 21.  
 22.  
 23.  
 24.  
 25.  
 26.  
 27.  
 28.  
 29.  
 30.  
 31.  
 32.  
 33.  
 34.  
 35.  
 36.  
 37.  
 38.  
 39.  
 40.  
 41.  
 42.  
 43.  
 44.  
 45.  
 46.  
 47.  
 48.  
 49.  
 50.  
 51.  
 52.  
 53.  
 54.  
 55.  
 56.  
 57.  
 58.  
 59.  
 60.  
 61.  
 62.  
 63.  
 64.  
 65.  
 66.  
 67.  
 68.  
 69.  
 70.  
 71.  
 72.  
 73.  
 74.  
 75.  
 76.  
 77.  
 78.  
 79.  
 80.  
 81.  
 82.  
 83.  
 84.  
 85.  
 86.  
 87.  
 88.  
 89.  
 90.  
 91.  
 92.  
 93.  
 94.  
 95.  
 96.  
 97.  
 98.  
 99.  
 100.

— given, by the minister  
 Wolfe; a very young officer, a  
 genius. Wolfe was opposed with  
 Montcalm, the best and most  
 French had. Though the situation  
 which Wolfe was to attack, and  
 throw up to prevent a descent of the  
 ed impregnable, yet Montcalm neglected  
 it. Wolfe's courage and perseverance  
 surmounted incredible difficulties  
 heights of Abraham, near Quebec  
 and defeated the French army. but  
 as was Montcalm: general Monck  
 in command, being wounded, the  
 French defeat, and the glory of the  
 reserved for brigadier general, after  
 Townshend.

General Amherst, who was the first  
 in command in America, conducted  
 the campaign. His orders were, to reduce  
 and join the army under general Wolfe on  
 river St. Lawrence. He was so weak  
 every thing that could make it successful  
 provincial troops co-operated with him  
 there appeared scarcely any chance for  
 Accordingly the French empire in North  
 America came subject to Great Britain.

During this war, which lasted eight  
 years furnished 23,000 men, to co-operate  
 with regular forces, in North America.  
 "unwarrantable"

for the execution of his plans ; but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to irritate the colonies, during a war wherein their exertions were peculiarly beneficial.

"The advantages that would result from an ability, to draw forth the resources of the colonies, by the same authority, which commanded the wealth of the mother country, might in these circumstances have suggested the idea of taxing the colonies by the authority of the British parliament." Mr. Pitt is said to have told Mr. Franklin, "that when the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes," but did not mention what these measures should be. It is also said, that Mr. Pitt mentioned in a letter to Francis Fauquier, Esq. lieutenant governor of Virginia, towards the close of 1759, or the beginning of 1760, that the colonies should be taxed at the close of the war, in order to raise a revenue from them. The answer of Mr. Fauquier might have diverted Mr. Pitt from his intention: He expressed his apprehension, "that the measure would occasion great disturbance."

The French, after a series of defeats in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, were by the treaty of peace in 1763, deprived not only of Canada and its dependencies, but obliged to relinquish that part of Louisiana which lies on the east side of the Mississippi; and the Spaniards, having also taken a part in the war against Great Britain, were forced to relinquish to the same power, both East, and West, Florida.

This was one of the most glorious and successful wars for Great Britain, that had ever been carried on in any age, or by any nation. In the space of eighty years she had made herself mistress of almost the whole continent of North America; she had conquered twenty five islands, all of them remarkable for their manufactures, their produce, or the importance of their situation; she had won by sea and land twelve great battles; she had reduced nine fortified cities and towns; she had destroyed near forty forts and castles; she had destroyed above an hundred ships of war from her enemies; she had acquired, as is supposed, about twelve millions of inhabitants.

Such was the issue of a war, sanguinary and bloody, which had raged with uncommon violence in four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and destroyed above a million of inhabitants.

The glory which Great Britain had acquired, was however, bought at a high price. The war had cost her above an hundred and eighty thousand men, including

ould be  
letter  
of Virgin  
of the  
the an-  
its from  
"that

Asia.  
ice is  
ncies.  
which  
Span-  
Great  
wer.

eful  
on  
the  
ole-  
n-  
ti-  
a-  
:  
d

...the precise b  
Great Britain in North  
northward, they might have extent  
itself, nor did any nation incline to  
ty of this northernmost country  
that extremity they had a territory  
ward to Cape Florida, in the Gulf  
25°, and consequently near 4000 mil  
The state of the British colonies at  
the war in 1763, was such as attracte  
all the politicians in Europe. Their  
tion at that period, was remarkable an  
trade had prospered in the midst of al  
and distresses of a war, in which they  
and so immediately concerned. Their  
tinued on the increase, notwithstanding  
depredations that had been so fiercely ca  
French, and the native Indians in their al  
abounded with spirited and active indi  
denominations. They were flushed with  
mon prosperity that had attended them.  
mercantile affairs and military transactions,  
were ready for all kind of undertakings,  
limits to their hopes and expectations.  
As they entertained the highest opinio  
and importance, and of the highest out  
derived from its  
were ade



schemes and projects: ever aiming at new and continually employed in the search of improving their condition.

Their condition carried them into every quarter whence profit could be derived. There was no part of the American hemisphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They continually exploring new sources of trade, and were in every spot where business could be transacted.

To this extensive and incessant application of their commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the attention of their affairs at home. Whatever could tend to the amelioration of the soil they possessed, to the progress of agriculture, or to the improvement of their domestic circumstances, was attended to with labor and care, that it may be strictly said, that they had given them nothing of which they did not value the most.

In the midst of this solicitude and toil in business, the affairs of government were conducted with a steadiness, prudence, and lenity, seldom witnessed, and never exceeded, in the best regulated states of Europe.

Such was the situation of the British colonies in general throughout North America, and of the Eastern provinces in particular, when the

## CHAP. III.

*Causes of the Disturbances—Proceedings in the Colonies—Committee of Correspondence chosen in Boston—Congress meet at New York—Their Address to the King, &c.—The Stamp Act Repealed—Proceedings in the Colonies, previous to the Commencement of Hostilities.*

A succinct and impartial narrative of the rise, progress, and establishment of the AMERICAN REPUBLIC will be attempted in the following Chapters.

Some writers, in treating of this grand era in the history of mankind, have ascribed the origin of the disputes with Great Britain to the intrigues of France: without looking at the true cause, viz. the desire of power on the one hand, and the abhorrence of oppression on the other. There can be no doubt that the powers of Europe looked with a jealous eye upon Great Britain, after the acquisition of such immense power and territories. This they thought threatened to destroy that balance of power which the sovereigns of Europe have for a long time endeavoured to preserve. They were, therefore, in general, disposed to favour any convulsion which promised to diminish her overgrown greatness. It could be no wonder that France and Spain, especially, should have embraced the first opportunity, that offered, to humble a nation, which, with the assistance of her colonies, had laid their pride in the dust.

It has been said that these powers employed emissaries, immediately after the peace, to sow the seeds of disunion between Great Britain and her colonies; but this is a fact barely probable, and remains unsupported, as yet, by any document which the purity of historical truth will admit. However, it is not at all improbable that the French may have employed some persons to gain information of the dispositions of the Americans towards Great Britain: and it is as likely that they found out nothing to gratify their wishes.

Baron de Kalb, who had been long an officer in the French service, and who was afterwards killed in the service of the United States, travelled through the British provinces, about the time of the Stamp act, and is said to have reported to his superiors on his return, "That the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty."

The hostile policy which led the colonies to examine scrupulously the nature of their dependence on Great Britain followed, but did not precede, her attempts upon the rights and liberties of America. Nor is there any just reason to believe that the French could, by any artifice or address, have dissolved the union of the British empire, at the close of a war in which the interests and feelings of the colonies and the parent state had been interwoven with more than usual strength and energy; and that too in so short a space of time as elapsed from the peace in 1763, to the promulgation of the first obnoxious acts of the British parliament in 1764.

When the manners and habits of the Americans are considered—the equality of rank which subsisted among them—their independent principles—their jealous watchful care of their constitutional rights—the knowledge of their own strength, which they had acquired in the war with France—the removal of hostile neighbours—their knowledge of the strong factions in parent state—What might not have been expected from such a people, in such a country, and in such a situation, when their liberties were attacked?—It has been imagined that an united body of millions of people would tamely surrender up their natural and chartered rights?—No! nothing but the of insatiation could have fostered so vain a hope.

The turbulence of some North Americans, the disorders of some British statesmen, and the assistance of some foreign nations, can only be considered as secondary causes which affected the revolution—as circumstances which forwarded its birth somewhat sooner, which would have happened in the common course of time.

It was a love of liberty and a quick sense of which led the Americans to rise in arms against their mother country; at a time when there were who thought it their interest, or had any idea, of their allegiance to Britain, until the ineffectual petitions and remonstrances, and the progress of the war, rendered the declaration of independence a measure absolutely necessary for their own safety. The view of the subject is not only natural and entirely corresponds with the American character, but with the conduct which was displayed through the vicissitudes that attended the revolt.

From the first settlement of North America to the close of the war of 1755, Britain followed a line of conduct marked out by the charter of the colonies, and governed them with mildness in both countries. The colonies were rat-

struments of commerce, than as objects of government. They were allowed their own judgment in the management of their own interest. Till the year 1764, deviations from this happy system, and the grievances complained of, were few; and their pressure was neither great nor universal. The acts of the British parliament, tending to prohibit several colonial manufactures, and lay restrictions on their trade, although they bore hard upon the spirits of a rising people; yet the articles, the manufacture of which were thus protected, could be purchased at a cheaper rate in Britain; the advantages accruing to the colonies from their connexion with the mother country infinitely overbalanced the evil.

At length the British parliament resolved to alter the system of colonial government, by raising a revenue in America, by taxation. Mr. Israel Mauduit, the

Massachusetts' agent, gave the earliest notice of these proceedings; but the general court of the colony not being called together till the latter end of the year, instructions to the agent, though solicited by him, could not be sent in season.

The next year, however, the house of representatives came to the following resolutions: "That the right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province, was vested in them, as their legal representatives; and that the imposition of duties and taxes, by the parliament of Great Britain, upon a people who are not represented in the house of commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." "That no man can justly take the property of another without consent; upon which original principle, the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded."

These resolutions were occasioned by intelligence what had been done in the British house of commons. It had been there debated, whether they had a right to tax the Americans, they not being represented; and determined unanimously in the affirmative. A single person present, ventured to controvert the resolution.

Accordingly, in March, 1764, a bill was passed, by which heavy duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists from such West India islands as did not export to great Britain; at the same time that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer in specie; and in the same session another bill was framed to restrain

## HISTORY OF THE

1. Not only the principle of taxation, but the mode of collection, was considered as an unconstitutional and oppressive innovation; for the penalties imposed by an infraction of the acts of parliament, might be discovered in the courts of admiralty, before a single jury, whose salary was the fruit of the forfeitures decreed, without trial by jury, or any of the other benefits of common law jurisprudence. These measures, being so close to each other, threw the whole sentiment into the utmost ferment.

The Massachusetts assembly, who were the first representative body that took the act into consideration, appointed a committee to write to the other governments, and acquaint them with the instructions voted to be sent to their agent; and that the said committee in the name and behalf of the house, should desire that several assemblies on the continent be joined

June 13. with them in the same measures. The institution of committees of correspondence may be considered as the grand spring of the revolution during its different stages. These committees, by a silent and uniform alarm, roused the whole body of the people, upon all occasions, to unite in their operations against the ministerial encroachments upon their privileges; and thus achieved, by the most simple means, what many of the orators and patriots of ancient as modern states could never affect, by the most copious and summate eloquence and abilities.

Vehement remonstrances were made to the ministry and every argument made use of that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but to no purpose. Their reason, however, convinced a great number of people in Britain; and thus the American cause came to be considered as the cause of liberty.

The Americans, finding all argumentation vain, at last united in an agreement to import no more manufactures of Great Britain, but to encourage to the utmost of their power, every thing of that kind at home. Thus the British manufacturers alarmed, came a party against the ministry, and did not express their resentment in the strongest terms. The ministry were not to be so easily daunted, therefore proceeded to the last step of their plan, which was to lay on stamp duties throughout the continent. Previous to this, indeed, several resolutions were passed in favor of the commerce of the colonies; but they had now imbibed such a spirit of independence, that they had little regard to any thing pretended to be in their favor; or if these acts made any favorable

...colonists denied the parliamentary  
tion many months before any member  
parliament uttered a single syllable to  
and the American opposition to the Stamp  
ly formed, before it was known by the  
their cause was espoused by any man of  
as Britain was styled.

The raising of a revenue from the m  
and a fund to defray the expenses of defen  
nies, were in contemplation nine years be  
resolutions taken by the house of commo  
ginning of this year, might be forwarded b  
an American, a native of Portsmouth in  
shire, who a short time before obtained a s  
ment. - Instead of standing forth a firm adv  
country which gave him birth, he officious  
to the house, laying a tax on the colonies,  
annually amount to £500,000 sterling, whic  
ed they were well able to pay : and he was  
great joy and attention. He or some other  
ing that a stamp act was talked of by the com  
at Albany, in 1754, may have suggested th  
taxing, for whatever was thought, the Stam  
not originally Mr. Grenville's.

The intended stamp act, was communica  
American agents. Many of them did not  
Half their number were ministers.

## HISTORY OF THE

not have been content with any thing short of a specific sum, and proper funds for the payment. Had not the sums been answerable to his wishes, he would have rejected them; and he would not have been satisfied with less than £300,000 per annum, which was judged absolutely necessary to defray the whole expense of the army proposed for the defence of America: he might rather have expected that the sum would amount to what Mr. Huske had mentioned. When satisfactory proposals being made, he adhered to his purpose of bringing forward the stamp bill, repeatedly pressed by some of his friends to desist, as he might have done it with honor. Richard B. Esq. had been chosen agent for Massachusetts; with Mr. Ingersoll, Mr. Garth, and Mr. Franklin, he came from Philadelphia, waited on Mr. Grenville, the 2d of February, 1765, by desire of the colonial agents, to remonstrate against

2. the stamp bill, and to propose that in case any tax must be laid upon America, the several colonies might be permitted to lay the tax themselves. In this interview Mr. Jackson opened his mind freely on the subject; and Mr. Franklin, as must be supposed, mentioned that he had it in instruction from the assembly of Pennsylvania, to assure the ministry, that they should always think it their duty to grant such aids to the crown, as were suitable to their circumstances, whenever called for in the usual constitutional manner. Mr. Grenville, however, pertinaciously adhered to his own opinions; and said, that he had pledged his word for offering the stamp bill to the house, and that the house would hear their objections.

The bill was brought in; and on the first reading Mr. Charles Townsend spoke in its favor. He took notice of several things that colonel Barre had said in his speech against it; and then concluded with the following or like words: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care; nourished up by our indulgence, until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence; and protected by our arms; will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

On this colonel Barre rose, and after explaining several passages in his speech, took up Mr. Townsend's concluding words in a most spirited and inimitable manner, saying, "*They planted by YOUR care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They were your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and benighted country, where they exposed themselves to hardships to which human nature is*

...in one department and another, hap-  
s, the deputies of deputies to some house,  
house, sent to spy out their liberties, their  
actions, and to prey upon them—n  
havior on many occasions, has caused th  
sons of liberty to recoil within them—the  
the highest seats of justice; some who  
ledge were glad, by going to a foreign cou  
being brought to the bar of a court of j  
own.—*They protected by YOUR arms!* Th  
taken up arms in your defence; have ext  
amidst their constant, and laborious ind  
defence of a country, whose frontier was  
blood, while its interior parts yielded all its  
to your enrolment. And believe me, ren  
day told you so, that same spirit of freedom  
tuated that people at first, will accompany  
but prudence forbids me to explain myself  
God knows, I do not at this time speak from  
party heat; what I deliver are the genuine  
of my heart. However superior to me in gen  
ledge and experience the respectable body of  
may be, yet I claim to know more of Am  
most of you, having seen and been convers  
country.—The people, I believe, are as tru  
any subjects the king has; but a people jealous  
liberties, and who will not



## HISTORY OF THE

ion between the electors and non electors of  
 ment in Great Britain, was so interwoven, from  
 sing equally liable to pay the same common tax,  
 give some security of property to the latter : but  
 respect to taxes laid by the British parliament, and  
 by the Americans, the situation of the parties was  
 sed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportion-  
 share of the same common burden, what was laid  
 be one, was exactly so much taken off from the other  
 then the question upon the bill, in its last stage, wa  
 ight to a vote, there were about 250 for, and 5  
 ight it. In the house of lords, so strong was th  
 animosity, that there was not a single syllable utter  
 against the bill ; and on the 23d of March,  
 55. obtained the royal assent. The night after

March 22. was passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Char  
 Thomson, afterwards secretary of congress, " the son  
 liberty is set; you must light up the candles of la  
 ry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered, he  
 apprehensive that other lights would be the co  
 quence, and predicted the opposition that followe

The framers of the stamp act flattered themse  
 that the confusion which would arise upon the d  
 of writings, would compel the colonies to the u  
 stamp paper, and therefore to pay the taxes im  
 Thus they were led to pronounce it, a law which  
 execute itself. Mr. Grenville, however, appears t  
 been apprehensive, that it might occasion  
 ders; to prevent or suppress which, he project  
 other bill, which was brought in the same  
 whereby it was to be made lawful for military  
 in the colonies, to quarter their soldiers in priv  
 ses. This seemed intended to awe the peop  
 compliance with the other act. Great oppositi  
 made to it, as under such a power in the arm  
 could look on his house as his own, that part  
 was dropt ; but there still remained a clause  
 passed into a law, to oblige the several ass  
 provide quarters for the soldiers, and to fu  
 with firing, bedding, candles, small beer,  
 sundry other articles, at the expense of  
 provinces ; which continued in force whe  
 act was repealed. It equally militated wi  
 against the American principle. That mo  
 be raised on English subjects without their con

1765.

These proceedings of the m  
 gave rise to great disturbances  
 The stamp act was to comm  
 ration on the 1st day of November ;

the new duties was simply d  
newspapers being subjected to a heavy  
printers were zealous in the oppositi  
cal period, the house of burgesses in  
28th May, passed some spirited resolu  
rights of their country, and denying  
liamentary taxation.

*June 6.* The people of Massachusetts  
early thoughts of calling a c  
gress. On the 6th of June, t  
that province passed a resolution, for the  
fixed upon New York, as the place, and  
day of October, as the time, for holding t

The spirit of the Virginian resolves, li  
spark, diffused itself instantly, and univer  
cautious proposal of Massachusetts, was  
proved. The anxious mind, resting on  
sertion of constitutional rights, looked  
pleasure, at the time when an Americ  
would unite in a successful defence of the

The title of "Sons of Liberty," was ca  
ed by associations in every colony; determi  
ry into execution the prediction of colonel  
with such noble energy, had espoused th  
American freedom.

The minds of the Americans seemed to  
gone a total transfor  
quest

next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver, the stamp master. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows. Eleven days after, similar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the house of Mr. William Story, deputy register of the court of admiralty, broke his windows, forced into his dwelling house, and destroyed the books and files belonging to the said court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to the house of Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses, and drank and destroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture and apparel, and scattered or destroyed manuscripts and other curious and useful papers, which for thirty years he had been collecting. About half a dozen of the meanest of the mob, were soon after taken up and committed, but they either broke gaol, or otherwise escaped all punishment. The town of Boston condemned the whole proceeding; and for some time, private gentlemen kept watch at night, to prevent further violences.

The stamp act was hawked about the streets with a death's head affixed to it, and styled the "Folly of England, and the Ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace. The stamps themselves were seized and destroyed, unless brought by men of war, or kept in fortified places; those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as sided with government on this occasion, had their houses plundered and burnt.

Though these outrages were committed by the lowest of the multitude, they were first connived at by those of superior rank, and the principles on which they were founded afterwards openly patronized by them; and the doctrine became general, and openly avowed, that Britain had no right to tax the colonies without their consent.

Non importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was even resolved, to prevent the sale of any more British goods after the present year. American manufactures, though dearer, as well as inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was entered into against each colony, in order to promote the growth of the ladies, with cheerfulness, agreed to refuse or every species of ornament manufactured in Britain. By thus suspending their future purchases

utmost expedition, at their own pr  
pense, with their whole force, to th  
that should be in danger from the stan  
moters and abettors, or any thing rela  
count of any thing that may have been  
tion to its obtaining." This was sub  
numbers in New York and New Engl

After such a general and alarming  
was found absolutely necessary eithe  
Americans, by repealing the obnoxious  
enforce them by arms.

Happily at this time, Mr. Grenville, an  
thrown themselves out of place, on a diffi  
July 10. regency bill; so that the marq  
ham, and others in opposition,  
ter inclined to the Americans, came int  
marquis and his friends did not come to a  
rectly to repeal the stamp act; but the choi  
sure, and the principle to proceed upon,  
fore the meeting of parliament, which wa  
of December. The firm proceedings of th  
congress rendered the measure still more e

The assemblies of Virginia, North C  
Georgia, were prevented, by their gove  
sending a deputation to this congress. T  
deputies from Massachusetts. T

The chief supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. The former in nervous language said, "A position is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whoever is a man's own, is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it attempts an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery."<sup>22</sup> Mr. Pitt, with ere-

boldness  
ing the st  
tax Ame  
Three in  
sense of  
would  
He aft  
Britai  
our of  
means of

I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profit Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is a fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be so for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection."—I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country, over the colonies, be asserted on strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that may bind their trade, their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking the money from their pockets, without their consent."

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was examined at the house of commons, upon this occasion; and his testimony tended much to remove prejudices, an

The opposers of the repeal had co-  
declaratory bill, as essentially necessary.  
"That the parliament had, and of right  
power to bind the colonies, in all cases  
and the friends of that measure acquiesced  
strengthen their party, and make sure."  
Many of both sides thought, that the  
Britain required something of the kind  
ance the loss of authority, that might  
yielding to the clamours of the colonists  
diminished the joy, great as it was, w  
news of the repeal of the stamp act w  
America. It was considered as a proper  
force any claims equally prejudicial with  
which might hereafter be set up; a spirit  
pervaded the whole continent, and a str  
formed, watchful on every occasion to  
the supposed encroachments of the British  
It was not long before an occasion offered  
the Americans manifested a spirit of resolute  
omnipotency of parliament; and that insu  
bound by the British legislature in all cases  
not be controlled by it in the most trivial  
Rockingham ministry had passed an act, p  
troops stationed in different parts of the co  
such accommodations as were necessary  
assembly of New York.

## HISTORY OF THE

offence, was called upon to propose his plan, was by imposing a duty on tea, paper, painters' irons, and glass, imported into America. The convention of the New York assembly, respecting the troops, that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than otherwise it might have done. As a punishment for the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from that of New York, until it should fully concur with the terms of the act. Nothing could be more gratifying to the sons of liberty in every province. They now saw that their own colonial parliaments, as they considered them, were to be bound to what the British ministry might deem their good behaviour, by acts of the British parliament. The assembly of Boston at last submitted with reluctance. The bill for the new taxes was quickly passed, and sent to America, in 1768.

A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp act now took place throughout the continent. The populace renewed their outrages, and those of superior station entered into regular combinations against it. Circular letters were sent from Massachusetts colony to all the rest, setting forth the injustice and impropriety of the behavior of the British legislature. Meetings were held in all the principal towns. In which it was proposed to lessen the consumption of foreign manufactures, by giving proper encouragement to their own. Continual disputes ensued betwixt the governors and general assemblies of their provinces, which were much heightened by a letter from lord Shelburne, to governor Bernard, of Massachusetts Bay, containing complaints of the people he governed. The assembly, exasperated to the highest degree, charged their governor with having misrepresented them to the court of Britain; required him to produce copies of the letter he had sent; and, on his refusal, wrote letters to the British ministry, accusing him of misrepresentation and partiality; complaining at the same time most grievously, of the proceedings of parliament, as utterly subversive of the liberties of America, and the rights of British subjects.

The governor, at a loss how to defend himself, prorogued the assembly: and, on the occasion, gave a long speech to the members of ambitious designs, incompatible with those of dutiful and loyal subjects. To counteract the circular letter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, lord H. borough, secretary to the American &c.

March 4.

April 22.

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

ment, sent another to the governors of the different colonies, reprobating the other as full of misrepresentation, and tending to excite a rebellion against the authority of the parent state.

Matters now hastened to a crisis. The governor had been ordered to proceed with vigour, and by all means to show any disposition to yield to the people formerly. In particular they were required to rescind that resolution by which they had written the circular letter above mentioned; and in case of a refusal, it was told them that they would be dissolved. As this letter had been framed by the resolutions of a former house they desired, after a week's consultation, that a resolution might be granted to consult with their constituents but this being refused, they came to a determination on the 22d against the 17th, to adhere to the resolution which produced the circular letter. At the same time a letter was sent to lord Hillsborough, and a message to the governor, in justification of their proceedings. In both they expressed themselves with such freedom as was by no means calculated to accord with the sentiments of those in power. They insisted that they had a right to communicate their sentiments to their fellow subjects upon matters of such importance; complained of the requisition to rescind the circular letter as unconstitutional and unjust; and particularly insisted, that they were represented as harbouring seditious designs when they were doing nothing but what was lawful and right. At the same time they condemned the acts of parliament as highly oppressive, and subversive of liberty. The whole was concluded by a list of accusations against their governor, representing him as unfit to continue in his station, and petitioning the king for his removal from it.

These proceedings were followed by a violent tumult at Boston. A vessel belonging to

John Hancock, esq. a capital trader, had been seized in consequence of his having neglected some of the new regulations; and being taken under the protection of a man of war, at that time lying in the harbour, the populace attacked the houses of the commissioners of excise, broke their windows, destroyed the collector's boats, and obliged the custom house officers to take refuge in Castle William, situated at the entrance of the harbour.

The governor now took the last step in his power to put a stop to the violent proceedings of the assembly by dissolving it entirely; but this was of little moment. Their behavior had been highly approved by the colonies, who had written letters to them expressing



## HISTORY OF THE

approbation. After the dissolution of the subsequent meetings of the people were held in Boston, which ended in a remonstrance to the governor, for the same purpose as some of the former; but concluded with a request, that he would take upon him to send the king's ships out of the harbor. Whilst the disposition of the Bostonians was thus going from bad to worse, news arrived that the agent the colony had not been allowed to deliver their petition to the king; it having been objected, that the assembly, without the governor, was not sufficient authority. This did not contribute to allay the ferment; and it was farther augmented by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe.

A dreadful alarm now took place. The people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove their fears of the military; who, they said, were to be assembled to laws to which they were entirely averse. The governor replied, it was no longer in his power to call an assembly; having, in his last instructions from England, been required to wait the king's orders on the matter being then under consideration at home. Being thus refused, the people took upon themselves the formation of an assembly, which they called a *convention*. The proceedings and resolutions of this body naturally partook of the temper and disposition of the late assembly; but they went a step farther, and having voted "that there is apprehension in the minds of many of an approach to rupture with France," requested the inhabitants to arm themselves in a posture of defence against any sudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were sent to all the towns in the province.

Sept. 14. directed them with the resolutions that they had taken in the capital, exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield consisted of ninety seven in the province, refused to attend the convention, however, thought proper to assure the governor of their pacific intention, and renewed their request that an assembly might be convened with being refused any audience, and thought proper to dissolve of themselves.

Sept. 29. sent over to Britain a circumstantial account of the proceedings, with the reason of their having so done in the manner already mentioned. The expected troops arrived on the 30th, and had so

Americans, however, continued steady in the course they had adopted. Though the troops at that time quieted the disturbances, yet they were no longer than they appeared respects of their number; but as soon as this was perceived by the departure of a large detachment, they were treated with contempt, and it was their intention to expel them altogether. The countess ordered up arms for this purpose, and were to be sent to their friends in Boston; but before they could be put in execution, an event happened which put to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the two parties.

On the 5th of March 1770, a serious contest ensued between the soldiers and the town's people. The inhabitants from all quarters to the assistance of their fellow citizens. A violent tumult ensued, during which the soldiers fired upon the mob, killing three and dangerously wounding five more. The whole province now rose against the soldiers, who were obliged to retire to Cambridge. To remove any pretext for farther disturbance, it appeared on the trial, that the soldiers had insulted, threatened and pelted, before they were killed. It was also proved that only seven muskets were fired, and that the eight prisoners were taken.

in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty—the horrors of slavery—the dangers of a standing army—the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were represented to the public view under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.”

Having thus procured the removal of the military, the determinations of the people, in other respects, continued, if possible, more firm than ever, until at last government, determining to act with vigor, and at the same time to behave with as much condescension as possible, without abandoning their principles, repealed all the duties lately laid on, that of three pence per pound on tea alone excepted. This was left on purpose to maintain the dignity of parliament; and it was thought that it could not be productive of any discontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment, the produce of which was not expected to exceed £16,000. The opposition, however, were strenuous in their endeavors to get this tax likewise abrogated; insisting, that the Americans would consider it only as an inlet to others; and that the repeal of all the rest, without this, would answer no good purpose. The event showed that their opinion was well founded. The Americans opposed the tea tax with the same violence as they had done all the rest: and at last, on the news that salaries had been settled on the justices of the superior court of Massachusetts Bay, the governor was addressed on the subject; the measure was condemned in the strongest terms; and a committee, selected out of the several districts of the colony, appointed to inquire into it.

The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature; and accused the parliament of Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.

The rigorous execution of the smuggling laws, on occasion to the first daring act of violence, which, with propriety, be called an act of hostility against government. This happened at Providence Island, where, on the 10th of June 1773, a schooner was burnt, and the captain was killed, exasperated at the vigilance he had

things, asserting, that "there m  
ment of what is called British libe  
this kind had fallen into the hands o  
Franklin, the agent for the colony at  
were immediately transmitted to Bosto  
sembly was sitting, by whom they wer  
governor, who was thus reduced to a  
situation. Losing every idea of respect  
for him as their governor, they instantl  
petition to the king, requesting him to r  
ernor and deputy governor fro

1773.  
June 23.

but to this they not only rece  
able answer, but the petition  
clared groundless and scandal  
The system of committees

Nov. 22.

dence, which prevailed in the )  
1767, was revived in Boston, at  
period ; by which a reciprocal exchange o  
was kept up, throughout the whole co  
British ministry seem to have been totally i  
the former operations of the committees o  
dence, occasioned by the stamp act, while  
cessors were in office ; else they might easil  
seen the unanimous and vigorous opposition  
ures would meet with in the present case  
weakness of public measures was equal  
the administration of

# HISTORY OF THE

## CHAP. IV.

*account of the Political Disputes which convulsed  
it Britain, from the beginning of the Reign of George  
till the Commencement of Hostilities in America.*

TWISTING the just grounds of complaint  
led the Americans to oppose with vigor, the ar-  
ry designs of the British ministry, it would be diffi-  
to account satisfactorily for their regular and steady  
osition, from the beginning of the disputes, and  
n after hostilities commenced, without taking a  
w of the dissensions which agitated Britain during  
e same period.

The feuds and animosities which the Middlesex elec-  
on excited, gave occasion to sudden changes of the  
ministry, and resolutions of parliament dangerous to  
he liberties of the people; which, probably, would  
never else have taken place. As this election is the  
great hinge upon which the political events of the reign  
of George III. for many years turned, every material  
circumstance relating to that singular transaction, and  
even to Mr. Wilkes, the principal agent concerned in  
it, shall be particularly attended to, consistently with  
the limits of this work.

Till the resignation of Mr. Pitt, (October 9, 1761)  
no material change had been made in the ministry dur-  
ing the first year of the reign of Geo. III. It continued  
nearly the same as it was at the death of the late king  
with only this difference, that Lord Bute, who was sup-  
posed to be a particular favorite of the present king  
had been introduced into the cabinet; and appointed  
cretary of state in the room of the earl of Hold-  
ness. A more important alteration took place in 17  
An opinion had been long entertained, at least it  
industriously propagated by certain persons, that  
Pelham family had been as complete masters of  
cabinet during the latter years of the last reign, as  
the Marlborough family was, during a great part  
that of queen Anne. A resolution, it is said  
therefore taken to get rid of the Pelhams and all  
connections. The duke of Newcastle was made  
easy in his situation, that he resigned his post of  
of the treasury, and was succeeded by the earl of  
This gave occasion to a most furious  
tween the friends and adherents of the  
men, and naturally tended to revive in  
that spirit of party, which, during the suc-

... favor which the king might ha  
men of letters, would have been cons  
ing from his advice; whereas, by pl  
for which, as he was not bred to them  
but ill qualified, he at once destroyed  
own mind, diminished for a while the  
sovereign, and distracted and perplexe  
his country.

The cry of favoritism, which was  
lord Bute, immediately upon his introd  
ministry, had hitherto been kept up w  
virulence and animosity. Having compl  
in 1763, he resigned his place, as first lo  
bury, in April, in the same year, and was  
Mr. George Grenville.

The spirit of venality and corruption  
bly prevalent at this time in Britain. Li  
and riot were become general among the  
and tumults, and a spirit of disorder, affecte  
of the kingdom.

During the earl of Bute's administration,  
populace resigned all their thinking faculties  
their senses, to the indefatigable incendiarie  
and insolent faction, who were overawed by  
ity, and restrained by no principle; with  
animosity to the Scotch in 1763  
the minister in 1763  
Grenville in 1763

and the navy; but they were exasperated to find at the head of the English treasury, and the administration of the kingdom in his hands. The topics on which the writers in the opposition fail to expatiate. They revived and retailed, with peculiar virulence, all the calumnies, ancient and modern, that ever had been uttered against the Scotch people. They enlarged upon their craft, dissimulation, and national partiality. They denoted dangers that threatened the interests of Old England from the great numbers of those northern adventurers who had wriggled themselves into all the departments of civil and military institution, insisted upon the disgrace of acquiescing under the government of a North Briton, a Stuart, allied to the pretender, who had expelled from country friends of the protestant succession, associated with avowed tories, who prostituted the wealth of his own country. These base flatterers, in which no regard was paid either to honesty or decency, they reinforced with feigned citations, appointed to places, or promoted in the army, till at length the populace were incensed to the verge of insurrection. Had the natives of the north proved equally combustible, the flames would have certainly been kindled; and the ruin of a mighty nation might have been the work of two or three infamous emissaries, equally obscure, who either prostituted their pen to hire, or exercised their talents for abuse, being bought off by the minister.

All the most virulent papers against the king, former days, seemed to be but decays compared to those which were circulated after the resignation of Mr. Pitt. The promulgators of the first defamatory libel against the king and his family, been punished in the ordinary course of law. A faction would have found it a very difficult sequel, to engage either printer or publisher in *service*; and, in all probability, they *would have been crushed in the bud*; but they *were* by impunity to proceed in their career of calumnies by unrefuted falsehoods, and most audacious scurrility; until the *libels were so deeply and universally taken*

dous to call the libellers to account, and very doubtful whether a jury could be found in the capital, that would render those new idols to the castigation of the law. The new ministry showed the same contempt and regard of all the abuse offered to their persons, in the papers and pamphlets published against them, as their predecessors in office had done, although their names were printed at full length in many seditious libels; especially in a periodical paper called the North Briton. Mr. John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, was at very little pains to contend that he was the author of this paper, which for its wit, language or argument, could never have attracted the attention of the public, had not the minds of the people, by the arts of faction, been inflamed to a degree of madness. Wilkes was lively, but superficial, and, in his morals, he was said to be dissipated to profligacy. He had more than once applied to the king for a post that might repair his shattered fortunes; but prepossessions, arising from his character, were so strong against him, that failing of success, he resolved, as he openly declared, to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiousness of the press, under pretext of exercising the liberty of the press.

Perceiving the next to stoical indifference of the ministry with regard to their own persons, he aimed at an abuse at the king himself, and in the forty fifth number of his paper, animadverted upon the king's speech in parliament, with an acrimony so indecent as to impeach his majesty's probity, as well as person, that the ministers, at length, gave orders for seizing the paper, and all concerned in the publication. These orders were contained in a warrant of a general nature, in the hand of lord Halifax, directed to four of his majesty's messengers, commanding them to apprehend, if they could, the authors, printers, publishers of that seditious and treasonable paper; the publisher, George Kearsley, being accordingly apprehended, his examination afforded sufficient ground for laying upon Mr. Wilkes as the author. This warrant, though afterwards pronounced to be illegal by a court of law, was, in point of form and substance, the same that had always been issued by former secretaries of state, and even by Mr. Pitt and the duke of Devonshire, whose party now openly contended, that it was a necessary and lawful consequence of the British constitution.

Mr. Wilkes was thereupon committed prisoner to the tower, and his papers being sealed up in the presence of the under secretary of state, and the



Mr. Wilkes, upon bringing his *habeas* the court of common pleas, was released by a decision of that court, the judge unanimously declared that privilege of press extended to the case of writing a libel.

In the mean time the personal ver Wilkes received a severe shock, by his bel on, in the public papers, to make good ar had advanced in his speech at the cour pleas, that corrupt offers had been made government; and to declare when, how, such offers were made, and what they v Mr. Wilkes, nor any of his friends, tho take any notice of this peremptory chal often repeated, and affecting his moral ch most sensible manner.

When the affair, in consequence of message, came under consideration in the commons, it admitted of great debates. It urged by the gentlemen in the opposi greater liberties had been taken by the obnoxious paper, with regard to his maj than what had been common upon forme the same kind; and that the speech of never been considered in any other light the minister, and had always been treat freedom. The house, however, was of under no former opposition such abusive personally disrespectful to majesty, had ev use of; and therefore it was resolved by ity, "That the paper, entitled the Nort 45, is a false, scandalous, and seditious lib expressions of the most unexampled insol tumely towards his majesty; the grossest t on both houses of parliament, and the m defiance of the authority of the whole leg most manifestly tending to alienate the af people from his majesty, to withdraw th obedience to the laws of the realm, and to traitorous insurrections." The house terminated that the privilege of parliamer tend to the case of writing such a libel. members spoke and voted against the lat only because they thought it was a mat the constitution, independent of all party.

Soon after Mr. Wilkes fought a duel wit a member of parliament, and late treasury, whose character he had attack ing, in the most barefaced manner. I ment both parties behaved like men a

tion, that the mob proved so riotous, that they rescued the paper from before it was consumed, pelted the carrier peace officers, and even put Mr. Wilkes in danger of his life.

The walls of parliament as yet contained on the whole affair, which was of less importance than the public at first apprehensions of neither house could determine points depending on it, for those were in a court of law. In the July preceding men printers, who had been seized on suspicion of printing the North Briton, against the messengers on that account action that was tried, the plaintiff recovered 200*l.* was allowed to each of the thirteen in number. It appeared also, that the plaintiffs were not really guilty for which they had been seized. That they had been misled by the general terms of the writ, and that room was left for contesting. At the same time, the cooler and more moderate of the public, thought the damages, considering the state and circumstances of the parties, were too great, and that the verdicts in their favour would only exasperate the ministers, when it should turn to prosecute. Mr. Wilkes was highly encouraged.

## HISTORY OF THE

ous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod. I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain.

In the month of January, 1764, Mr. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons; and appearing to the indictments preferred against him for publishing the North Briton, and for seditious charges, he was at last run to an outlawry; and suits which he had commenced against the secret state for false imprisonment, fell of course to the ground.

Hitherto the demerits of Mr. Wilkes, and private irregularities of life he might have been excused of, were considered by the public only, and he had many advocates among the virtuous and disposed part of mankind; when, all of a sudden a storm broke out upon him in the house of peers exposed him in a most unchristian and immoral manner. One of the principal secretaries of state accused Wilkes, in the house of lords, of violating the sacred ties of religion as well as decency, by publishing in his own house, a book or pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Woman, with notes or remarks." This complaint could not have properly come before the lords, had not the name of a right reverend prelate been most scurrilously introduced, as being the author of the notes. The book itself, though printed under the utmost secrecy, had been communicated, through Mr. Wilkes's own inadvertency, to the secretary, journeyman printer, who was possessed of a copy, the very mention of its contents struck the public with horror. The concern which the pretended author had in printing and correcting the press, was beyond all contradiction; and left upon the minds of the public a strong conviction of his being the author also. Scarcely any defence was made for him by his friends, and the house addressed his majesty to order that he should be prosecuted; but neither the lords, nor the prosecutions intended to be brought against him for breach of privilege, had any other effect than that of greatly increasing the number of enemies in the rational unprejudiced part of the nation. However, many still remained his political friends, who detested his profligate principles. Generals were afterwards declared to be illegal by the votes of both houses; and this, indeed, seems to be the advantage resulting from this violent dispute.

*Mr. Wilkes and the ministry.*

The spirit of party, which was now well as violent, was attended with one

the inferior ranks of men in Britain lost all that reverence and respect for their rulers which is so necessary to the support of order and good government. Grenville administration was now forced to make for that of the marquis of Rockingham.

1765. chief business of this ministry was to undo that their predecessors had done, particularly repealing the stamp and cider acts; as on the other hand, all that they now did, was, in its turn, undone by their successors in office.

In 1768, the parliament being dissolved, writs were issued for electing a new one. Mr. Wilkes, who had remained abroad an outlaw ever since the year 1763, now returned home, and even when the outlawry was

in full force, offered himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex, for which he was chosen, in opposition to sir William Beauchamp

Procter, one of the former members, by a very large majority. Great doubts were at first entertained whether an outlaw could be chosen a member of parliament; but so many precedents were produced in affirmance, that the legality of the practice was put beyond controversy. Being now secure, as he thought of a seat in parliament, Mr. Wilkes surrendered himself to the court of king's bench, by whom the outlawry was reversed, and he was sentenced to suffer imprisonment of two years, and to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. As he was esteemed by many persons as a kind of martyr in the cause of public liberty, a subscription was opened by some merchants of London, and other gentlemen of property, for paying

ple not dispersing, the military were called in, and were ordered, perhaps unadvisedly, to fire. Several persons were slightly wounded, two or three mortally, and one was killed on the spot.

Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, sent a letter to the justices, thanking them for the spirited conduct in this affair. Mr. Wilkes, who was no incurious, nor, we may believe, unconcerned spectator of the whole scene, took this opportunity of expressing his resentment against the ministry, whom he regarded as the authors of all the persecutions he had suffered. He published lord Weymouth's letters, with a few remarks of his own prefixed to it, in which he termed the affair of St. George's Fields a horrid massacre; and this step was either considered as a reason or was made a pretence, for expelling him the house; otherwise it became in a manner impossible to tell what reason he had been expelled. The two offences for which this punishment had been inflicted, were the publication of the *North Briton*, and an obscene pamphlet, called "*An Essay on Woman*." With respect to the former, he had been punished in a preceding parliament, and it was contrary to law to punish him for it a second time. As to the latter, he received sentence for it from the house of lords in a former parliament also; but these offences were not esteemed cognizable by the commons; and as for the common law, on lord Weymouth's letter, it was as little within the jurisdiction.

The freeholders of Middlesex, however, seem to have been of a very different opinion from the commons; for they immediately and unanimously re-elected him their representative. This election was declared void, and a new writ issued. The freeholders persevered in their former sentiments; and Mr. Wilkes was elected a third time without opposition. A gentleman indeed, of the name of Dingley, intended to have opposed him; but the popular current ran so strong in favour of Mr. Wilkes, that he could not find a single person to put him in nomination. This election was declared void, as well as the preceding; and lest the freeholders of Middlesex and the house of commons should go on forever, the one in electing Mr. Wilkes, and the other in declaring his election invalid, colonel Luttrell, son to lord Irnham, and a member of parliament, was persuaded to vacate his seat by the acceptance of a nominal place, and to offer himself as a candidate. He did so; and though he received only 296 votes, and Mr. Wilkes 1142, yet he was declared in the house, by a great major

to be the legal member. The majority of the house maintained that expulsion necessarily implied an incapability of sitting afterwards. But most of the precedents brought forth were not to the purpose; as happening either in times of barbarity, or of internal insurrections in the kingdom. It was urged by the minority, that the power of the house of commons has never gone beyond expulsion; nor is it proper it should, except in cases of bribery and corruption. But if the house abuses its power, in the execution of this privilege, by depriving the constituents of their power of reelecting the expelled member, there is not any remedy against ministerial oppression, if they can once prevail so far as to procure a majority in favour of the expulsion of such members as may be obnoxious to them.

This vote of the house of commons was considered as a fatal blow to the liberties of the people; at least to the right of election, the most vital and essential part of those liberties. This poured poison into the political wound, that rendered it perfectly incurable. The Middlesex election may hitherto be regarded merely as a common controverted election, in which none but Mr. Wilkes and his opponents were concerned. From this time forward it assumed a more dignified air, a more important aspect. Instead of a private, it became a national concern. A great part of the people took the alarm. They thought they foresaw, in the destruction of the rights of the freeholders of Middlesex, the utter ruin and subversion of their own. The consequence was, that petitions first, and remonstrances afterwards poured in from the different counties and corporations in the kingdom. Many of these were of a very bold, and, as some thought, of a most daring nature. They not only prayed for a dissolution of parliament, but they even denied the legality of the present one, the validity of its acts, and the obligation of the people to obey them. In a word, they asserted that the government was actually dissolved.

The ministry had now brought themselves into a most disagreeable dilemma. They ought either 1770. not to have proceeded so far, or they ought to have gone farther. They ought either not to have furnished the people with a just cause, nor even with a plausible pretence, for presenting such remonstrances, or they ought to have punished them for daring to present them. This, however, they did not think it prudent, nor perhaps even safe, to attempt.

Some of the freeholders of Middlesex even attempted to carry their speculative principles into practice. They refused to pay the land tax; and the matter

brought to a trial. But the jury determined, that they were obliged to pay it; and, in so doing, they discovered more firmness and fortitude than their rulers. This, however, was but a poor compensation for the want of courage and consistency in the ministers. It was like endeavouring to support a mighty arch with a feeble buttress, when the key stone, that held it together, was removed.

In the course of this year a very important 1770. act was passed for regulating the proceedings of the house of commons in controverted elections. These used formerly to be determined by the house at large, and by a majority of votes, so that they were considered merely as party matters, and the strongest party, which was always that of the ministry, was sure to carry the point, without paying the least regard to the merits of the question on either side. By the bill, which was now passed, called the Grenville act, they were ordered for the future to be decided by a committee of thirteen members, chosen by lot, and under the sacred obligation of an oath; and since the enacting of this law, no well grounded complaint has been made against the impartiality of the decisions.

Though the present ministry was supposed to have been originally recommended to his majesty by lord Chatham, and to have been guided for some time, in all their measures, by his advice, yet, as they had of late affected to stand upon their own bottom, and neglected to consult him as usual, he entirely abandoned them, and resigned his office as keeper of the privy seal, which was bestowed on the earl of Bristol.\* His example was soon followed by

\* Mr. Burke, in his speech on American taxation, April 19, 1774, gives a humorous account of lord Chatham's situation, whilst this ministry were in power. After an ironical description of the incongruous mass of which it was composed, he says, "In consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies in power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect, or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, his principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an argument round to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer able to support his face was hid but for a moment, he

the duke of Grafton, who was succeeded as first lord of the treasury by lord North, and thus, unhappily for the nation, was formed that ministry which began the American war.

Mr. Wilkes remained in prison during the full time to which he had been sentenced. But though he still continued to be the darling of the populace, their admiration was not attended with that violence and uproar which had formerly marked their proceedings; his importance diminished in proportion as he was no longer persecuted by the ministry; and many of his friends, from various causes, deserted him. Still however, his influence was very extensive; he was chosen one of the Aldermen of London, then sheriff, afterwards lord mayor, and at last fixed in the lucrative office of city chamberlain; in all which departments he behaved so well, that his greatest enemies could never lay hold of any part of his public character that could be accounted a fault, or even represented in a disadvantageous light; and after a long succession of annual defeats, he triumphed at last, in the year 1782, in getting the resolution, of the 17th of February, 1769, relative to the Middlesex election, expunged from the journals of the house of commons.

tem was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted, to seem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust; and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel, were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America."

[Dodsley's Annual Register, 1775.



coming to seize him in the city without the order of a magistrate ; and upon his refusing to do so, they showed a warrant for his commitment to prison , upon which he consented to give bail, and was suffered to depart. The commons, fired at this contempt of their authority, thought it, ordered the lord mayor and two aldermen to appear before them. Mr. Crosby and Mr. Oldmead, members of the house, attended in their place ; but Wilkes refused to appear, unless he might be permitted to take his seat for Middlesex. The lord mayor and alderman Oliver were sent to the Marsh where they continued in confinement till the end of the session. Other orders were made for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes ; but as it was well known that he would not comply with the orders, the ministry could find no better method of getting rid of this formidable adversary, than by appointing the eighth of April for his attendance, at the same time the house adjourned to the ninth.

Thus all the efforts of the ministry, to extend the authority of parliament, served only to show, that it was really not to be dreaded, by any subject with spirit enough to contend with it.

Great Britain was in this manner divided into two factions, by the rashness and pusillanimity of a

party, who stood forward to resist the arm of power, whether exercised by the ministry, or by the legislature. A number of this party acted from principle, but others were more influenced by spirit of opposition to the ministerial majority, than by a regard to the constitutional liberties of either country.

—0000—

#### CHAP. V.

*The East India Company empowered to export their own Teas—The Tea thrown into the sea at Boston—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Boston Port Bill—Massachusetts Bay Bill—Bill for the Administration of Justice—Quebec Bill—Chief Justice Oliver—General Gage arrives in Boston—Solemn League and Covenant—Measures for holding a general Congress—Boston Neck Fortified—Inhabitants of Boston reduced to great Distress—Preparations in the Colonies for Resistance—Proceedings of Congress—Petition to the King, &c.—Proceedings of Parliament—Violent Debates on American Affairs—Conciliatory Motion by Lord Chatham, rejected—Coercive Measures resolved on—Lord North's Conciliatory Plan, called his Olive Branch—Other Conciliatory Plans rejected—Petitions against the obnoxious Acts—Extent and Importance of the American Trade—Memorial from the Assembly of New York, rejected—Dr. Franklin's fruitless Endeavours to promote a Conciliation—He returns to America.*

GREAT BRITAIN WAS thus rent by internal dissensions, and factions, whilst succeeding administrations, with equal weakness and obstinacy, endeavoured to establish parliamentary supremacy over the colonies. Anxious to establish the system, and at the same time afraid to encounter opposition effectively, they conceded enough to weaken their authority, and yet not enough to satisfy the colonists. And these causes had operated with redoubled force, upon every renewal of the dispute.

The declaratory act, and the reservation of the duty upon tea, left the cause of contention in full force, but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded by refusing to purchase any tea on which the parliamentary tax was imposed. The colonists, therefore, conceiving that their commu-

might be renewed, without establishing any precedent, injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their association in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all other articles of merchandise. Britain might now have closed the dispute forever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquishment of her claims. Many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion; but in that province, the unhappy quarrel, which has been already mentioned, between the people and the military force there stationed, proved a fruitful source of complaint. The continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston, the constituting the governors and judges of the province independent of the people, were likewise constant causes of irritation.

The only reason assigned by the British minister for retaining the tea duty, was to support the authority of parliament; at the same time, he acknowledged it to be as anticommercial a tax, as any of those that had been repealed upon that principle. The East India company, feeling the bad effects of the colonial smuggling trade, by the large quantity of tea which remained in their ware houses unsold, requested the repeal of the three pence per pound in America, and offered, that on its being complied with, government should retain six pence in the pound on the exportation. Thus the company presented the happiest opportunity that could have been offered for honourably removing the cause of difference with America. This afforded an opening for doing justice without infringing the claims on either side. The minister was requested and intreated, by a gentleman of great weight in the company, and a member of parliament, to embrace the opportunity; but it was obstinately rejected.

New contrivances were set on foot, to introduce the tea attended with the three penny duty, into all the colonies. Various intrigues and solicitations were used to induce the East India company to undertake this rash and foolish business. It was protested against, as contrary to the principle of the company's monopoly; but the power of the ministry prevailed, and the insignificant duty of three pence per pound on tea, was doomed to be the fatal bane of contention between Great Britain and her colonies.

*The Americans perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced, whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be im-*

possible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose, the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned to resign their offices, and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them, enemies to their country. And this was no empty menace, but pregnant with certain ruin to their property, and the grossest indignity to their persons. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest with the same warmth, and manifested the same resolution to oppose this invasion of their rights.

In the midst of this confusion, three ships laden with tea, arrived in Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, providing they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea consignees, custom house, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehensive that if they remained there, the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above mentioned discharges had been refused, about seventeen persons, dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the

*Dec. 16.* ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea; after which they retired, without making any farther disturbance, or doing any other damage. No tea was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was every where manifested. At Philadelphia, the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river; and at New York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed, under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the custody of the people to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority, by all possible means; and as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to

ainted, by a message from his majesty, of the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boston, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the same time, the most vigorous exertions to reduce them to obedience. It, in its address, promised a ready compliance. Indeed, the Americans seemed now to yield of their partisans. It was proposed to the town of Boston, equal to the price of what had been destroyed, and to shut up its vessels until the refractory spirit of the town could be subdued; which, it was thought, would yield, as a total stop would thus be put to the trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the ground that the other had been; and it was proposed instead of having any tendency to reconcile the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate beyond any possibility of reconciliation. Against it, presented by the colony's agent, the same consequence in the strongest terms, in a positive manner declared that the Americans would submit to it: but such was the in-coming every rank and degree of men, of half of the nation, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state. In this confidence, a third bill was passed for the impartial administration of justice on the coast might be employed in the suppression of smuggling in the province of Massachusetts Bay. It was provided, that should any persons act with impunity be indicted for murder, and not brought to a fair trial in the province, they might be removed to England, or to some other place necessary, to be tried for the supposed

bill having passed so easily, the ministry was said, had not yet been settled on. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the management of a council, in which Roman Catholics were admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were to be in their possessions, and the usual perquisites of their own profession. The council, composed of seven members, were to be appointed by the crown; and to be invested with legislative power, excepting that of taxation. When these laws made known in America, they excited the union of the colonies almost

of a  
wise  
the  
as g  
tow  
Wh  
by a  
tion  
with  
solution  
compose  
to take  
eration;  
sition to  
that of Ma  
continental  
pedition to  
the grievan  
exerting t  
forth the d  
tempts of G  
tion; and  
the colony  
such evil dea  
tal renuncia  
ain, till a re  
Intellige

beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges' accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver, the chief justice, refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but as they still insisted for justice, against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs, a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the port bill, which had passed both houses, on the 25th of March, and reached Boston on the 15th of May. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure, among the people; and whilst these continued, the new gov-

*May 19.* ernor, general Gage, arrived from England. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor, was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town 17 miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation, for deprecating the wrath of Heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress, composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. This was the basis of the continental congress. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the disregard shown to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs; recommending at the same time, a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, till a redress of grievances could be procured. Intelligence of this declaration was carried to

dolph their president, and Charles Thomson their secretary. It was agreed, as one of the rules of their doing business, that no entry should be made in their journals of any propositions discussed before them, to which they did not finally assent.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants (whom the operation of the port bill had reduced to great distress) were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and, should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove farther up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expense.

They next addressed General Gage by letter; in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren and to oppose the British acts of parliament; that they themselves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and intreated him to desist from military operations, lest such hostilities might be brought on as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

The next step was to publish a declaration of their rights. These they summed up in the rights belonging to Englishmen; and particularly insisted, that as their distance rendered it impossible for them to be represented in the British parliament, their provincial assemblies, with the governor appointed by the king, constituted the only legislative power within each province. They then marked the line between the supremacy of parliament, and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, expressed in the following words: "But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects of America without their consent."

Doctor Ramsay remarks, that "this was the age of the controversy. The absolute, unlimited

by  
los-  
the  
ry,  
lie  
f

whole. From the local situation  
equally reasonable that their legis-  
in some matters be independent.  
acy of the first ended and the inde-  
began, was to the best informed  
Happy would it have been for both  
discussion of this doubtful point new  
They proceeded to reprobate the  
of the new acts of parliament; and  
rights they had enumerated as being  
what none could deprive them of.  
they particularly pointed out as being  
mical to the colonies, by whose assis-  
conquered; and they termed it "An  
ing the Roman Catholic religion in Ca-  
the equitable system of English laws,  
a tyranny there." They further declar-  
a non importation and non consump-  
Goods, until the acts were repealed by  
were imposed upon tea, coffee, wine, &  
lasses, imported into America, as well  
port act, and the three others passed in  
session of parliament. The new regula-  
the importation and consumption of  
ties were then drawn up  
they concluded with  
those



## HISTORY OF THE

Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have petitioned us to represent them in general congress, by our humble petition beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

The standing army has been kept in these colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander in chief, and under him of the brigadiers generals, has in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments of America.

The commander in chief of your majesty's forces in North America, has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty, and vice admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees, from the effects condemned by themselves.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding commissions during pleasure exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth years of your majesty's duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of revenue; and the powers of admiralty and vice admiralty are extended beyond their ancient limits; and our property is taken from us without our consent.

that statute. Your attempts have

A statute was passed in the two  
jesty's reign, directing that person  
mitting any offence therein describ  
of the realm, may be indicted and  
in any shire or county within the re  
stants of these colonies may, in s  
statute made capital, be deprived of  
of the vicinage.

In the last session of parliament an  
blocking up the harbour of Boston;  
ing the governor of Massachusetts  
indicted for murder in that province  
or even to Great Britain for trial, wh  
ers may escape legal punishment; a  
the chartered constitution of govern  
ince; and a fourth, for extending  
bec, abolishing the English, and rest  
laws, whereby great numbers of British  
jected to the latter; and establishing a  
ment, and the Roman Catholic relig  
those vast regions that border on the we  
ly boundaries of the free, protestant, Eng  
and a fifth, for the better providing  
for officers and soldiers in his majesty's  
America.

To a sovereign

ity of temper, unjust impulses, suggestions of seditious persons, and other probitious terms frequently bestirred. But so far from promoting only opposed them; and can only be one to receive of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to have made a land of slavery, the sense of it would have been mitigated by ignorance, and by the love to his adorable goodness, and ever enjoyed our royal ancestors, whose duty it was, to rescue and deliver the British throne, to rescue and deliver the nation from the popery and tyranny of the papists and inextinguishable tyrant.

Your majesty, we are confident, your title to the crown is thus fixed, and your people to liberty; and that your royal wisdom must apply that teaches your subjects anxious to prove the performance of that which they received from divine Providence, the illustrious house of Brunswick it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded from the preeminent rank of men, while our minds retain the sense of liberty, and clearly foresee the misery, and our posterity, excites emotions in us, though we cannot describe, we should feel. Feeling as men, and thinking as men, we do, silence would be dishonour. This faithful information, we do all to promote the great objects of your royal government, and the tranquillity of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard to the rights of ourselves and our posterity, the rights of nature and society, command your royal attention. And as your signal distinction of reigning over the people, we apprehend the language of freemen can only be.

Your royal indignation, we hope, will be directed against those designing and dangerous men, who are interposing themselves between your royal authority and your faithful subjects, and for several years employed to dissolve the bonds, and abusing your majesty's authority, misrep-

of the administration, the support  
and the defence, protection and  
safety."

But we beg leave to assure you  
provision has been and will be made  
two first articles, as has been and is  
legislatures of the several colonies  
their respective circumstances. As  
protection and security of the colonies  
properly regulated, as they earnestly  
diately be done, would be fully sufficient  
times of peace; and in case of war  
nists will be ready and willing, as they  
when constitutionally required, to  
loyalty to your majesty, by exerting  
ous efforts in granting supplies and  
Yielding to no British subjects in  
ment to your majesty's person, family  
we too dearly prize the privilege of  
tachment by those proofs, that are  
prince who receives them, and to the  
them, ever to resign it to any body of

Had we been permitted to enjoy,  
itance left us by our forefathers, we  
have been peaceably, cheerfully and  
in recommending ourselves to your  
tion, to your majesty.

the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America; extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice admiralty; trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America; affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and altering the government, and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourse, will be immediately restored.

In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy.

For, appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending danger.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses—that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be farther violated in uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer."

All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of congress. The first of June had been kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was first proposed, but throughout the whole continent. Contributions for the distressed of Boston had been raised throughout America, and people of all ranks seemed to be particularly touched with them. Even those who seemed to be most likely to derive advantages from them, took no opportunity as has been already instanced in the case of Salem. The inhabitants of Marblehead also showed a noble example of magnanimity in the present case. Though situated in the neighbourhood of Boston, and most likely to derive benefit from their distresses, they did not attempt to take any advantage, but generously offered the use of their harbour to the Bostonians, as well as the wharves and warehouses, free of all expense. In the meantime the British forces at Boston were continually increasing in number, which greatly augmented the general jealousy and disaffection; the country were ready to rise at a moment's warning; and the experiment was made by giving a false alarm that the communication between the town and country was to be cut off, in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament. On this intelligence, the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied till they had sent messengers into the city to enquire into the truth of the report. These messengers were enjoined to inform the town's people, that they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other respect manifested the inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the

tude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court houses; and, when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province. Every where they manifested the most ardent desire of learning the art of war; and every individual who could bear arms, was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning their exercise.

Matters at last proceeded to such an height, that General Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land which joins the town of Boston to the continent. This, though undoubtedly a prudent measure in his situation, was exclaimed against by the Americans in the most vehement manner; but the general, instead of giving ear to their remonstrances, deprived them of all power of acting against himself, by seizing the provincial powder, ammunition, and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown. This excited such indignation, that it was with the utmost difficulty the people could be restrained from marching to Boston, and attacking the troops. Even in the town itself, the company of cadets that used to attend him disbanded themselves, and returned the standard he had as usual presented them with on his accession to the government. This was occasioned by his having deprived the celebrated patriot John Hancock, afterwards president of the congress, of his commission as colonel of the cadets. A similar instance happened of a provincial colonel having accepted a seat in the new council; upon which 24 officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day.

In the mean time, the proceedings of the Sept. 9. governor occasioned the holding an assembly of delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town. The purport of this was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and to form an engagement to indemnify such as should be prosecuted on that account; the members of the new council were declared violaters of the rights of their country; all ranks and degrees were exhorted to learn the use of arms; and the receivers of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treasury, but to retain it in their own hands till the constitution should be restored, or a provincial congress dispose of it otherwise.

A remonstrance against the fortifications Sept. 12. on Boston Neck was next prepared, and presented to the governor; in which, however, they still declared their unwillingness to proceed to any

le measures ; asserting only as usual, their firm determination not to submit to the acts of parliament, they already so much complained of. The governor, to restore tranquillity, if possible, called a general assembly ; but so many of the council had resigned their seats, that he was induced to countermand its sitting by proclamation. This measure, however, was deemed illegal ; the assembly met at Salem ; and, after waiting a day for the governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which Mr. Hancock was chosen president. A committee was instantly appointed, who called on the governor with a remonstrance concerning fortifications on Boston Neck ; but nothing of consequence took place, both parties mutually criminating each other. The winter was now coming on, and the governor, to avoid quartering the soldiers upon the inhabitants, proposed to erect barracks for them ; but the citizens of Boston compelled the workmen to desist. Prisoners were sent for to New York, but they were refused ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could procure winter lodgings for his troops. Nor was it less difficult in procuring clothes ; as the merchants of New York told him, that "they would never sell any article for the benefit of men sent as enemies to their country."

His disposition, known to be almost universal throughout the continent, was in the highest degree satisfactory to congress ; they unanimously approved of the Suffolk resolutions, and voted that contributions should be raised for the relief of their brethren at Boston, as their occasions required ; and having accomplished the business for which they met, they broke up the first of October ; after appointing another meeting of congress the tenth of May ensuing, unless grievances should be redressed before that time.

Every one saw that the ensuing spring was to be the season of commencing hostilities, and the most indefatigable diligence was used by the colonies to be well prepared against such a formidable enemy. A list of the sensible men in each colony was made out, and especially of those who had served in the former war ; whom they had the satisfaction to find that two thirds were still alive and fit to bear arms. Magazines of arms were collected, and money was provided for the payment of troops. The governor in vain attempted to put a stop to these proceedings by proclamations ; the fatal period was now arrived ; and before the servants of government attempted to repress the spirit of the Americans, the more violent it was



In the mean time the inhabitants of Boston were reduced to great distress. The British troops, now distinguished by the name of the *enemy*, were absolute possession of it; the inhabitants were kept as prisoners, and might be made accountable for the conduct of the whole colonies, and various measures were contrived to relieve the latter from such a disagreeable situation. Sometimes it was thought expedient to remove the inhabitants altogether; but this was impracticable without the governor's consent. It was then proposed to set fire to the town at once, after valuing the houses and indemnifying the proprietors; but this being equally impracticable, it was resolved to wait for another opportunity, as the garrison were not very numerous, and not being supplied with necessaries by the inhabitants, might soon be obliged to leave the place. The friends of the British government indeed attempted to do something in opposition to the general voice of the people; but, after a few ineffectual meetings and resolutions, they were utterly silenced, and obliged to yield to the superior number of their adversaries.

Notwithstanding the gloomy situation of affairs, the Americans had great expectations, as well from the petition to the king, as the address to the inhabitants of Great Britain. The indifference, however, which this address was generally received, quickly convinced them, that nothing was to be hoped for from that quarter. This apparent indifference, so contrary to the expectation of the colonies, had arisen from various causes. A great part of the people had always considered America as a country the property of Great Britain, to whose laws and protection she had a claim, and that the mother country, on the other hand, had an equal title to demand from her colonies a reasonable quota towards defraying the expense of the empire in general. Their prejudices in favour of the prerogative of parliament, and their desire that America should bear a proportional share of the public expence, hindered them from viewing any other security in colonial charters, to the inhabitants of America, than the bar against taxation, by the king alone. The greater part of the people had no just conception of the grounds of the quarrel, nor acquaintance of the situation of things in America. They were like the farther bewildered in their opinions by the conduct of opposition. They observed that many of the members of both houses of parliament, who stood forward in favour of America, were the men, who, when in opposition, had been most active in support of those obnoxious acts of parliament which gave birth to the dis-

ances in the colonies. The American contests were no longer new. They had engaged the attention of parliament, with very little intermission, for a period of ten years. Most of the subjects in dispute were exhausted by endless altercations; and the passions excited by them, however violent at first, had now subsided, and been succeeded by that listlessness and languor consequent on violent agitations of the mind. The former non importation agreement had been dissolved, without producing any serious consequences, owing most probably to the divisions occasioned by the repeal of the several new taxes in 1767. Most people therefore flattered themselves, that as things had so frequently appeared at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, some means would still be found for accommodating this dispute; or, at worst, it was supposed the Americans themselves would grow tired. An opinion was also circulated, with great industry, that a show of resolution on the part of the British ministry, if persevered in for some time, would certainly put an end to the contest, which, it was said, had been wholly nourished by former concessions. The generality of the people, therefore, were inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perseverance and resolution to the ministry, who valued themselves on these qualities. Thus administration, being little opposed at home, was left at leisure to prosecute such measures against America, as had either been already adopted, or were as yet in embryo.

The parliament at that time, had but one session more to run before it would expire of course. A proclamation for its dissolution, was however, issued on the 30th of September, and the writs made returnable for a new one, on the 29th of November following. The proceedings of congress had not yet reached England; but it was thought the ministry dreaded a non importation agreement; and wished to have the elections over, apprehending that the news of this event might influence the trading and manufacturing towns to vote against the court party. In the city, the popular party, carried every thing before them. Mr. Wilkes was again elected for Middlesex, as well as lord mayor of London; and the ministry had now too much to risk, to give him any disturbance. The

Nov. 30, speech from the throne, at the meeting of parliament, set forth the conduct of the Americans, particularly the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, in the most atrocious light; and a resolution was announced of withstanding to the

tty of Great Britain over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was held to be essential to the welfare, safety, and dignity of the empire in general.

An address, in answer to the speech, was proposed in the usual form, by the minister; but the opposite party insisted, that a request should be made to his majesty, for a production of the whole intelligence he had received from America, as well as the letters, orders, and instructions relative to that business. This amendment was opposed by the ministry, on the ground that addresses were merely complimentary; that there was not then time for entering into a full discussion of American affairs; but that they would come before the house in their due order. After a warm debate, the original address was carried by a prodigious majority, not less than 264 to 73.

The debate in the house of lords was warm and vehement, though the minority was but 13 to 63 on the division. The dispute was, however, remarkable for a protest, being the first mentioned in the English history upon an address. It concluded thus: "But whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effect and their future tendency, and who are not in haste without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves to declarations, which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

However it was, whether it proceeded from irresolution, a want of system, doubts of parliamentary support, or a difference of opinion in the cabinet, there was a strange suspension of American business previous to the Christmas recess, and the minister seemed evidently to shrink from all contest upon that subject. The national estimates were entirely formed upon a peace establishment. The land tax was continued at three shillings in the pound; no vote of credit was required; the army remained upon its former footing and a reduction of 4000 seamen took place, only 1600 being demanded for the ensuing year.

The strange inconsistency of administration, with respect to American affairs, was severely scrutinised by the opposition. It was asserted, that the whole was a *cheat*, in order to delude the people into a war, rendered doubly ruinous and disgraceful by a defective preparation; that the ministers obstinately resolved not to make peace by any reasonable political concession, but by any necessary military arrangement: but

sating between both, deprived the nation of a possibility of deriving benefit from either. Far from serving the public, this delay of incurring timely charge did certainly aggravate the future expense, as they did assuredly feel in due time. That they were far from desiring war; as little did they relish large peace establishments: but if, against their will, war must be waged on, common sense dictated, that it ought to be waged on with effect; and that, if a peace establishment, and even lower than a peace establishment, was wanted to support a war, this afforded a demonstration, that the peace establishment had been shame-prodigal.

In answer to this, the minister of the naval department publicly asserted in the house of lords, that he thought the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. He spoke with the greatest contempt, both of the power and the courage, of the Americans. He held, that they were not disciplined nor capable of discipline, and that, they were devoid of such materials, and so indisposed to action, that numbers, of which such boasts had been made, would add to the facility of their defeat.

On this occasion, however, the most wary silence was observed by the ministers with regard to their designs against the Americans; being, in all probability, that they would meet with a violent opposition from the mercantile interest; and in this they were not deceived. A general alarm had been spread during the recess; the merchants of several towns had met and prepared petitions to parliament; and lord Chatam, though now broken with age and infirmities, more than appeared in the house of lords, to testify his disapprobation of ministerial measures.

He made a motion for recalling the troops from Boston, and represented the measure not as a matter of choice, but of necessity. He lost in allaying the present ferment might prove years of calamity, as the situation of the inhabitants and troops, with regard to one another, rendered them continually liable to events, which might cut off all possibility of a reconciliation: whereas, such a timely measure on the part of Britain would recall jealousy and apprehension on the part of the colonies, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both countries. He severely reprobated administration for refusing to take the American affairs into consideration; for deluding and deceiving the people by misrepresentations of facts; persuading the colonies to the necessity of continuing the war.

colonies in the dispute with Great Britain, and quiet would be restored to that city by the appearance of a single regiment, as had been unwarily asserted. After condemning, in the most explicit manner, the whole series of ministerial conduct with regard to America, he is said to have concluded his speech with the following words: "If the minister thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing.—I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is betrayed." Lord Chatham's motion was lost by a majority of 68 to 18; and, on this occasion, the duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, divided with the minority. Such a decisive victory, however, as it discovered to the minister the true disposition of the new parliament, it was thought to have given him confidence to go further in his plan of coercion than he would otherwise have ventured to have done.

The American papers, at least such as the minister chose at this time to produce, were now laid before the house. A separate committee was proposed, for considering the petitions of the merchants, and this committee was to begin its sittings on the 27th of January, the day after that appointed for taking the American affairs into consideration. On this occasion the most violent debates ensued, in which the utmost asperity of language was made use of, especially on the part of opposition. They said it was a pitiful shift to defeat the petitions which they durst not openly reject. The question, however, was carried by a majority of 197 to 81.

Thus were consigned to the *Committee of Oblivion* as it was named by the members in opposition, the petitions from London, Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, &c.

A petition was next presented by Mr. Bolland, Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, setting forth, that they were authorized by the American continental congress to present a petition from the congress to the king, which petition his majesty had referred to that house. They were enabled, they said, to throw great light upon the subject; and prayed to be heard *at the bar* in support of it. Their application had the same fate with the rest, being treated with the utmost *indifference* and contempt. The motion for receiving the petition was rejected by a majority of 218 to 68. Lord Chatham persevered in the prosecution of

conciliatory scheme with America, and accordingly brought into the house of lords a bill entitled, "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." By this bill the holding of a congress in the ensuing month of May was allowed, for the double purpose of duly recognizing the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt; taking it for granted, that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother country, and their obligations to her. On these conditions it restrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits: and, without repealing, suspended for a limited time those acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the continental congress. It placed the judges upon the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices, with those of England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters and constitutions. This proposal was treated with the utmost indignity and contempt; not being allowed even to lie upon the table. On this occasion, as on a former, the duke of Cumberland divided with the minority.

The measures now proposed by lord North, *Feb. 2.* were entirely of a coercive kind. A greater force was to be sent to America, and a temporary act passed to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the New England colonies, particularly the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, until they returned to their duty. An address to his majesty was at the same time moved for, to "beseech him to take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."

Unfortunately for the peace of both countries, the parliament of Great Britain believed that the claims of the colonists amounted to absolute independence, under the specious show of a redress of grievances. On the other hand, the colonists were confident that Britain harboured designs not only hostile to their interests, but that it was resolved to introduce arbitrary government. Probably neither of these opinions were true in their most extent; but matters had now proceeded so far

ain was lost. The ministry, unhappily, listened for information only to those whose interest it was to deceive them; such as governors, judges, revenue officers, and other servants of government; these men fancied that palatable information would prove the way to farther promotion; and those whose integrity restrained them from stooping to such meanness, were so warped by prejudice, that their information had an effect equally hurtful as that of the former.

In the debates on the measures proposed by the minister, all the arguments which had been used on former occasions, by the members in opposition, were now collected and urged with the utmost vehemence. The dangers that would attend a war with America were pointed out; and the interference of foreign nations was foretold. The ministry did not deny the danger, but said, "it must be encountered; that every day's delay increased the evil, and that it would be base and cowardly to put off for the present, an unavoidable contest, which must fall with accumulated weight on the heads of their posterity. The danger of the foreign interference was denied; the very idea of it was treated as the creature of imagination, and it was said, that an appearance of vigorous measures, with a farther reinforcement of troops, would be sufficient to quell the disturbances: and it was added, that the friends of government, were strong and numerous, and only waited for proper supplies, and favourable circumstances, to declare themselves.

The minister carried all his plans by great majorities, but not without long and warm debates, and several protests in the house of lords. At length, on the 9th of February, 1775, a joint address, from both houses, was presented to his majesty; in which, "they returned thanks for the communication of the papers relative to the state of the British colonies in America, and gave it as their opinion, that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts, and besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; and begged in the most solemn manner to assure his majesty, that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his majesty and the two houses of parliament."

*The lords, Richmond, Craven, Archer, Abergavenny, Rockingham, Wycombe, Courtenay, Torrington, Foxsonby, Cholmondeley, Abingdon, Rutland, Camden, Erskine, Stanhope, Scarborough, Fitzwilliam and*

kerville, protested against this address, "as founded on no proper parliamentary information, being induced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (though it be the undoubted right of subjects to present the same) as following the rejection of every mode of reconciliation—as holding out substantial offer of redress of grievances, and as raising support to those ministers who had inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

Thus the ministry, having proved ultimately victorious, no farther obstacle remained to the entering upon decisive measures with regard to America. In answer to the address, a message was sent from the throne, deciding an argumentation of the forces by sea and land, as being referred to the usual committee of supply, a subject was next formed of laying farther restrictions on the province of Massachusetts Bay, it being deemed hard to send a military force, without making pro-coercive laws, of which the military were to enforce the execution. For this purpose the minister decided he would make choice of a punishment so universal, that all ranks and degrees of men could not but be affected by it, which, of course, he supposed, would produce obedience to the former laws. A bill

10. was therefore brought into the house of commons, to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire; the colonies of Connecticut, and Rhode Island; Providence Plantations in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West Indies; and to prohibit such colonies and provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. That the extreme severity of this act, however, might be alleviated by such provisions as would not destroy its main object, the minister said he would only propose it as temporary, to continue either to the end of the year, or the next session of parliament; and he would also propose, that particular persons might be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates from the governor of the province in which they resided, of their good behaviour; or upon their subscribing a test, acknowledging the rights of parliament. Every argument which ingenuity could suggest, was urged against this bill by the minority. Petitions were presented and read from the London merchants, and the society of friends representing the cruelty and impolicy of



of New England at different periods. [See New England, p. 165, &c.] The marquis of Rockingham, in his speech against the bill, entered into a very minute detail of the American trade, and took a comparative view of that of New England at different periods. In the year 1704, he showed that the whole amount of the exports to New England was only about 70,000 annually; that in 1754, it had increased to 180,000; and in the succeeding ten years to 400,000; and that in the last ten years it had been nearly doubled. He concluded his speech, by fortelling, "that an union and constitutional agreement in sentiments, and coalition of interests, could never take place between the colonies and the mother country, unless the former measures preceding the laying on of any duties on the American exports were recurred to and adopted."

The New England restraining act, having passed and received the royal assent, was accompanied with a demand of two thousand additional seamen, and four thousand three hundred and eighty three land forces; and the last demand was followed by an explanation from the minister, that the force at Boston would be augmented to ten thousand men. These proposals drew forth the fiercest wrath of opposition: the inconsistency, folly, and cruelty of ministers resounded through the house. But whilst both parties were exhausting themselves in fruitless debates, lord North surprised the whole nation by his conciliatory motion afterwards styled his *Olive Branch*. By this it was proposed, that when the governor, council, and assembly of any province, or the general court, should propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively.

Such a proposition from the minister involved him in the most violent contests, even with those of

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

own party. However, he soon convinced the members, that the appearances of lenity and concession contained in his conciliatory motion, were by no means consistent with the most rigid measures; nay, that he did succeed in the explanation of his own position, that he acknowledged he had no expectation of being well received by the generality of the Americans; but that, if it did no good there, it would do good in Britain: It would unite the people, by holding them a distinct object of revenue; and as it would unite Britain, it would disunite America: That the first province came first to make a dutiful offer, were kindly and gently treated; and if only one province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken.

By the members in opposition, this bill was rejected in the most violent manner. It was remarkable, hitherto it had been constantly denied that they contested about an American revenue; that they had been a dispute about obedience to trade laws, the general legislative authority of parliament; now ministers suddenly changed their language, and proposed to interest the nation, console the merchants, and animate the soldiery, by persuading that it is not a contest for empty honour, but for the acquisition of a substantial revenue. It was said the Americans would be as effectually taxed, without their consent, by being compelled to pay a gross sum as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount. That this scheme of taxation exceeded in oppression any that the rapacity of mankind had hitherto devised. In other cases, a specific sum was demanded, and the people might reasonably presume that the remainder was their own; but here, they were wholly in the dark as to the extent of the demand. All their eloquence, however, was by no means sufficient to carry the point; here, when the minister had been deserted by some of his staunchest friends. The bill was passed by a majority of 274 to 88.

This bill was followed by another, seeming to have a contrary tendency, being a supplement to the England Fishery Bill, and included the colonies of Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. No debate of any consequence ensued on this subject; but the discussion of another bill, from the West India planters, proved the means of considering the importance of these islands, and the dependence on North America, more generally understood than before this time. From documents produced, it appeared, that the capital in the

consisting of cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and stock of all kinds, did not amount to less than sixty millions sterling. Their exports of late years to Great Britain had run to about 190,000 hogsheads and puncheons of sugar and rum annually; amounting in weight to 95,000 tons, and in value about four millions: besides a great number of smaller articles, as well as their immense export to North America. So rapid was the improvement of these islands, that within a few years, their export of sugar to Britain had been increased by 40,000 hogsheads annually, amounting to near £800,000 in value; and it seemed probable, that no less than thirty millions of West India property belonged to people in Britain; and that the revenue gained above £700,000 annually upon the West India trade exclusive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade. It was also fully shown, that this immense capital and trade, as well as the African, neither of which could subsist without the other, were, both from nature and circumstance, totally dependent on North America.

This petition, as well as another from Waterford in Ireland, produced no good consequences. The ministerial plan was unalterably determined. Conciliatory motions were proposed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley; but, whatever ingenuity might be displayed in the devising and framing these notions, very little regard was paid to them by administration. The only thing remarkable was the immense value of North America to Britain, as appeared from Mr. Burke's comparative view of the trade of Britain at different periods. From thence it was shown, that in 1704, the exports to North America, the West Indies, and Africa, amounted only to £569,930. That in the year 1772, at an average of several years before and after the exports to the same places, including those from Scotland, (which, in the year 1704, had no existence) amounted to no less than £6,024,171, being in the proportion of nearly eleven to one. He also showed, that the whole export trade of England, including that of the colonies, amounted at the first period of 1704, only to £6,509,000. Thus, the trade to the colonies alone was, at the latter period, within less than half a million of being equal to what Britain carried on at the beginning of the present century with the whole world. And, stating the whole export trade of Britain at present at sixteen millions, that to the colonies, which in the first period constituted but *one twelfth of the whole*, was now very considerably *more than one third*.

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

However astonishing this general increase of the whole colonies may appear, the growth of the province of Pennsylvania was still more extraordinary. In the year 1704, the whole exports to that colony amounted only to £11,459, and in 1772 they were risen to £507,000, being nearly fifty times the original demand, almost equal to the whole colony export at the first period.

Towards the close of the session a memorial was presented to the house of commons, and another to the house of peers, from the assembly of New York, and both were rejected, upon the principle that they claimed to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament. Memorials from the British inhabitants of Quebec, presented by Lord Camden and another from the inhabitants of Quebec at large, were likewise rejected. The only remarkable circumstances attending these, were the two royal brothers voting in the minority, and the animated speech of Lord Effingham, in the upper house, in favour of the claims of America, when he declared his resignation of the military command he held.

The session concluded with the passing the money bills in the usual form. The speaker, in his address to the king, stated the heaviness of the grants, which, however, had been readily complied with, on account of the particular exigence of the times; at the same time assuring his majesty, that should the Americans persist in their resolutions, and thus render it necessary to draw the sword, the commons would do every thing in their power to support the dignity of the British legislature.

Doctor Franklin laboured hard to prevent the breach from becoming irreparable, and in union with Dr. Fothergill and Mr. David Barclay, two English gentlemen, highly esteemed by the British ministry, candidly stated the outlines of a compact which he supposed would procure a durable union of the two countries; but his well meant endeavours proved abortive, and in the meantime he was abused as the fomentor of those disturbances which he was anxiously endeavouring to prevent. That the ministry might have some opening to proceed upon, and some salvo for their personal honour, he was disposed to engage, that pecuniary compensation should be made for the tea destroyed; but he would not give up essential liberty, for the purpose of procuring temporary safety. Dr. Franklin finding the ministry bent on war, unless the colonists would consent to hold their rights, liberties and charters at the discretion of a British par-

lament, and well knowing that his countrymen hazard every thing, rather than consent to termigrading, as well as so inconsistent with the spirit British constitution, he quitted Great Britain in 1775, and returned to Philadelphia; where he joined his countrymen, and exerted his great abilities in leading them through a war which was now unavailing.

—ooo—

#### CHAP. VI.

*Stores and ordnance seized by the people of Rhode-Island—New-Hampshire—Faint exertions of the loyalists by the sons of liberty—The regulars are frustrated attempt to seize some field pieces at Salem—Stirred in the night—General Gage receives the arms of the rebels—Fails in his agreement—Boston invested by a provincial army—Public fast—Ticonderoga and Crown Point Congress meet—Direct the people of Massachusetts a new government—Proclamation by General Washington—Battle at Bunker's Hill—Paper currency established—Articles of union of the colonies—Declaration on taking up arms—Proceedings of Congress—Speech to the Indians—Addresses of petition to the king—Georgia accedes to the confederation—General Washington joins the continental army—Resolves taken, containing immense supplies designed for the army—Falmouth burnt—Hostilities in New-York and the Jerseys—Resolutions of the Rhode-Island assembly.*

WHILST the rulers of Britain were thus pluming themselves on their own wisdom and prudence in conducting the affairs of the empire, the Americans were preparing for a determined resistance. The southern colonies began to take up arms as well as the northern, and, as soon as news came of a proclamation been issued in Britain to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to the colonies, every method was taken to supply that defect. The people of Rhode-Island, however, bolder than the rest, and not having equal resources, seized upon the ordnance belonging to the crown, amounting to about forty pieces of cannon of different sizes; whilst the assembly passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and disciplining the inhabitants. Their example was followed by the people of New Hampshire, who, with the same view, from a small fort, called William and Mary, from

they were supplied with as much powder and ammunition as enabled them to put themselves in a posture of defence.

The determination of the colonies was confirmed by the news of the king's speech, and the address in answer to it. *Dec. 14.* The assembly of Pennsylvania unanimously approved and ratified the acts of Congress; and the assembly of Maryland appointed a sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A provincial congress, held at 1775. Philadelphia in the end of January, recommended the encouragement of the most necessary manufactures; particularly salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, and steel; and at the same time declaring their resolution to resist, in case the petition of Congress to the king should prove ineffectual. Powder mills were erected in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and encouragement was given for the fabrication of arms throughout the whole continent. The only exception to this general voice, was the assembly of New-York, in which, January 10, 1775, it was carried by a very small majority not to accede to the resolutions of Congress; and at this meeting they drew up, with the consent of their lieutenant governor, the paper which, as we have already seen, the parliament refused to hear read.

The recess of the provincial congress of Massachusetts Bay, in the beginning of November 1774, had afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyalists, as they now began to be called, to try their strength in various places. Associations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and resolutions taken to oppose the provincial congress; but the associators were every where overwhelmed with prodigious majorities, and their attempts had no other effect than to mislead the governor, and through him the people of Great Britain, with regard to the general disposition of the people.

Doctor Gordon observes, that assemblies, conventions, congresses, towns, cities, private clubs and circles, were seemingly animated by one great, wise, active and noble spirit; one masterly soul, enlivening one vigorous body. All their acts tended to the same point, the supporting of the measures of the continental congress. But there were great numbers in every colony, who disapproved of these measures; a few, comparatively, from principle and a persuasion that the same were wrong, and that they ought to submit to the mother country; some through attachment to the late governmental authority exercised among them; many from self interest; but the bulk, for fear of the mischief

w to make proper preparations for war. Experience in military discipline was recommended in the strongest manner, and several military institutions enacted among which that of the *Minute-men* was one of the most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia ; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness at the call of their officers ; from which perpetual vigilance they derived their title.—It was now easily seen that a slight occasion would bring on hostilities, which could not be attended with the most violent and certain destruction to the vanquished party ; for both were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches and literary warfare, that they seemed to be filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

On the 26th of February General Gage, having been informed that a number of field pieces had been brought to Salem, dispatched a party to seize them. Their route was obstructed by a river, over which was a draw-bridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let it be put down : upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over ; but the people cut out her bottom. He

ilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman,\* who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that as the day was far spent, the military could not execute their design, so that they might without any fear leave them the quiet possession of the draw-bridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after having remained for some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt, however, was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about 20 miles from Boston, for the support of a provincial army, wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. It was likewise reported that he had a design to seize messieurs Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the congress. Wishing to accomplish his design without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night, 800

*April 18.* grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the common, landed at Phipp's farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith. Neither the secrecy with which this expedition was planned; the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no inhabitants should leave Boston, were sufficient to prevent intelligence from being sent to the country militia, of what was going on.

About two in the morning, 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them, but the air being chilly, and intelligence respecting the regulars uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a second time to the number of 70, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, and the British regulars soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them and called out, "Disperse, you rebels, throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer—discharged his pistol—and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals, finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three

\* Reverend Thomas Barnard.



ment of 900 men, sent out by general Gage to suppress the rebellion. This reinforcement having two pieces of artillery, and kept them at a greater distance, but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen put the regular troops in no small confusion, but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute-men.

A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

There were never more than 400 provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many. As some tired gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them. Officers and privates fired when they were ready, and in a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by crossing fields and fences to act as flanking parties against the king's troops kept to the main road.

The regulars had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 50 prisoners. Of the provincials 50 were killed, 100 wounded and missing.

## AMERI

This was the fat  
berment of the Brit  
of the American c  
of Massachusetts, w  
the battle, dispatche  
accompanied with  
British troops were  
sed the inhabitants  
plaining of their su  
yet detached us fro  
to be his loyal and  
dealt with, as we h  
lives and fortunes,  
dignity. Neverthele  
of his evil ministry  
pealing to heaven fo  
mine to die or be fre

To prevent the p  
countrymen in the  
threatened, general  
mittee that upon the  
Faneuil hall, or any  
care of the selectme  
depart with their f  
livered up after thi  
1778 fire arms, 634  
derbusses. The ag  
beginning, but afte  
thrown in the way  
that persons who v  
goods of those who  
were not properly t  
consideration of the  
out of Boston, evade  
good faith. He w

separated from their husbands—children from their parents—and their friends: and their distress was heightened by the quibble on the meaning of the word *effects*, which was construed as not including merchandise; which the provincials of a supply of which they stood most in need. Thus the town were deprived of their support.

The civil discord now broke out in all its fury shown by the American militia in their Lexington, and the advantages they imagined themselves to have gained, afforded great matter of exultation.

The spirits exulted nothing. The British troops assembled at Roxbury, and were soon after joined by a great number of militia. By the experience of Boston now kept blocked up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the provincials, powerful as they were, durst not make an attack: whilst, on the other hand, his force was by far too insignificant to meet such an enemy in the field.

Resistance being universally resolved on by the Americans, the pulpit, the press, the bench and the bar, severally laboured to encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy on the minds of their hearers. Their number is said to have amounted to 700, and their exertions in the public cause were important and effectual. In their prayers and in their sermons they represented the cause of America as the cause of heaven. The synod of New York and Philadelphia sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonies.

A distinction, founded on law, between the king's ministry, was introduced. The former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of it was charged on the latter, for using the royal prerogative to furnish their own unconstitutional measures. The

any God, to bless their rightful sov-  
and to inspire him with wisdom to  
the true interests of his subjects; a  
nation might be influenced to regard  
longed to their peace, before they v  
eyes—that the colonies might be ever t  
protection of a kind providence, and b  
their interests—that America might so  
cious interposition of heaven, for the re  
nay grievances; the restoration of her  
reconciliation with the parent state, ion  
tional and honorable to both."

The necessity of securing Ticondero,  
tended to by many in New England,  
had set the example of attempting to seize  
stores, and by so doing had commenced  
that retaliation appeared warrantable.

Colonel Allen was at Castleton with al  
230 of which were Green Mountain Boys,  
their residing within the limits of the Gree  
the Hampshire grants being so denomi  
the range of green mountains that run th  
Centinels were placed immediately on al  
to prevent any intelligence being carried t  
roga.

Colonel Arnold, who now is  
ported, that there were  
vy cannon

lowed and drew up. Captain de la Placo, the commander, was surprized in bed. Thus the place was taken without any bloodshed. They likewise surprized Crown Point, in which there was a garrison of two hundred men. They took also, two small vessels, and found at Ticonderoga for building others. By this expedition the province acquired great quantities of ammunition and military stores; and obtained the command of Lake Champlain, which secured them a passage into Canada. Colonel Allen went home, and Colonel Arnold, with a number of men, agreed to remain there in garrison. Colonel Arnold, after a series of successes, formed the bold plan of invading Canada. He wrote to congress, that with the assistance of the whole province, he would reduce the province, when that measure was adopted.

Congress, by a resolution passed on the 26th of October 1774, recommended to the several colonies, to choose members for another congress, to be held at Lancaster, on the 1st of May 1775, unless previously obtained. A circular letter was sent by Lord Dartmouth to the several colonies, requesting their interference to prevent the meeting of this second congress; but these requisitions had lost their influence; delegates were elected not only for the twelve colonies that were before represented, but also for the parish of St. John's in Georgia.

On their meeting, the day after the capture of Ticonderoga, they chose Peyton Randolph for their president, and Charles Thomson for their secretary. On the next day Mr. Hancock, who soon after succeeded Mr. Randolph as president, laid before them an account of the late great events of Massachusetts: whereupon congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the affairs of America. The line of moderation and firmness which they pursued will be hereafter related.

Towards the latter end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived with the British generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, general Gage was enabled to attempt something of consequence; and this the boasts of the provincials, that they were besieging those who had been sent to subdue them, seemed to render necessary. Some skirmishes in the mean time happened in the islands lying off Boston harbour, in which the Americans had the advantage, and burned an armed schooner, which her people had been obliged to abandon after she was left aground by the tide.

Hostilities were now forwarded by the resolves of the continental congress, which on the 8th of Jun

...out, or transacting any business with  
land officers of Britain, their agents or con-  
nishing them with stores or provisions of any  
general post office was established at Phil-  
the head of which they placed Dr. Franklin  
been deprived of the same place in England.  
General Gage, on the other hand, issued  
mation, wherein he offered a pardon in  
name, to all who should forthwith lay down  
and return to their respective occupations and  
duties, excepting only from the benefit of the  
"Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose  
were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit  
other consideration than that of condign punishment.  
It was also declared, that not only the persons  
named and excepted, but also all their adherents,  
ates, and correspondents, should be deemed  
treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly.  
the courts of judicature were shut, and mar-  
should take place, till a due course of justice was  
established."

The Americans, supposing this proclamation  
prelude to hostilities, prepared for action.  
were therefore issued by the provincial congress  
that a detachment of one thousand men should march  
upon Bunker's Hill, a considerable height in the  
entrance of the peninsula of Cape Cod.

on a batter- on Copp's Hill in Boston ;  
however <sup>did</sup> ot hinder the provincials, from  
ig up a east work from the east side  
redoubt bottom of the hill before mid-  
ut they v. vented completing it by the in-  
e fire of the y. By some unaccountable er-  
detachment. w ich had been working for hours,  
ther relieve r supplied with refreshments,  
e left to en under these disadvantages.  
een twelve one o'clock, and the day ex-  
ly hot, a nt r of boats and barges filled with  
troops from F ston approached Charlestown,  
e men were lai ad at Morant's Point, a little  
astward of th t. They con-  
f four br tation of grenadiers,  
of light on of field ar-  
but, by are cartridges  
uch too en the Ameri-  
re at es, there was  
ound of ing.  
gener. eral Pigot had  
mand. <sup>the</sup> troop. <sup>remained</sup> in  
sition, till joined by a sect. detachment of  
fantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of  
l forces, and a battalion of marines, amounting  
hole to about 3000 men. The generals Clinton  
goyne took their stand upon Copp's Hill, to  
and contemplate the bloody and destructive  
ns that were now commencing. The regulars  
in two lines, and advanced deliberately, fre-  
halting to give time for the artillery to fire,  
was not well served. The light infantry were  
to force the left point of the breast work, and  
the American line in flank. The grenadiers  
d to attack in front, supported by two battal-  
ilist the left, under general Pigot, inclined to  
t of the American line. One or two of the  
ital regiments had been posted in Charlestown,  
wards removed to prevent their being cut off  
den attack ; so that the British were not in the  
rt by the musquetry from thence.  
al Gage had for some time resolved upon burr  
town, whenever any works were raised by t  
ns upon the hills belonging to it : and whi  
ish were advancing nearer to the attack, orde  
Copp's Hill for executing the resolution. So  
rcass was discharged, which set fire to  
ir the ferry way ; the fire instantly a  
of the place was soon in flames ; wh  
the eastern end of Charlestown were  
who landed from the boats.

the rest of the breast work, and stretching beyond its point to the which there was not an opportunity, was occupied partly by the M and partly by the people of Connecticut. The British moved on slowly to of using a quick step; which gave advantage of taking surer and cooler served their fire, till the regulars at twelve rods, when they began a fusillade of small arms, which stopped the regulars the firing without advancing. The Americans was incessant, and appeared sheet of fire, and did such execution that the regulars retreated in disorder, and with great effort towards the place of landing. They made every effort to make them return to the place, which they at length complied; but again reserved their fire till the regulars were at five or six rods, when the enemy were staggered. The troops were thrown in that for a few moments general Howe been left almost alone, and all the officers either killed or wounded. In this critical moment Clinton, who arrived at the place of action during the engagement, rallied the troops spontaneously, and brought them back to the same place.



It was feared by the Americans, that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the head quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and in no state of defence. But they advanced no farther than to Bunker's Hill, where they drew up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect Hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge.

The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. A number of Americans engaged, including those who attempted to cross the neck and join them, amounted only to seven hundred; but the unengaged, who were in various parts, did, by the aid of the Boston militia, so that they consisted of the British, as amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more wounded. Among those more generally regretted, were lieutenant colonel Abercrombie, and major Pitcairn. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. From their fall, much confusion was expected; they were therefore particularly singled out. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause, but the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines which were the work only of a single night.

The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to 139. Their wounded and missing to 314. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. General Gage, in his letter on the subject, was confident they must have been many more, as the Americans were seen during the engagement, conveying away and burying their dead. This, if true, must be accounted a very extraordinary circumstance, and bears some resemblance to the contests related by Homer concerning the dead bodies of his heroes. The Americans deeply regretted the deaths

an opinion of the enemy he had to encounter, certainly might have entrapped the provincials on the narrow part of Charlestown, and the fire of the floating batteries and ships. Here he might have stationed and fortified, and kept up an open communication with a water carriage, which he would have done through the aid of the navy, on each side of the water. Had he used this manœuvre, the provincials might have made a rapid retreat from Breed's Hill, having his troops in the rear, and being informed, it was said that general Clinton proposed it. The rejection of that proposal greatly weakened the army, and probably prevented the ruin of the Americans.

The British troops claimed the victory in the battle; but it must be allowed that it was a tactical victory; and the Americans boasted that the advantages were on their side, as they had so much weakened the enemy that they durst not afterwards attack them out of their entrenchments.

In other places the same determined spirit and courage appeared on the part of the Americans. North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and in every other colony. The commercial hostilities at Lexington determined the colonies to war, which had hitherto been only a state of

ministry were puzzling themselves for new taxes, and funds on which to raise their supplies, congress raised theirs by resolutions directing paper of no intrinsic value to be struck off, in form of promissory notes, although without any certain funds for its support or redemption.

The troops which were shut up in Boston were soon reduced to distress. Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the islands in Boston Bay, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light house at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garrison were reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of foraging in different places to plunder for subsistence as well as they could.

The congress in the mean time continued to act with all the vigour which its constituent had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon; by which they bound themselves and their posterity for ever. These were in substance as follows

1. Each colony was to be independent within itself, and to retain an absolute sovereignty in all domestic affairs.
2. Delegates to be annually elected to meet in congress, at such time and place as should be enacted in the preceding congress.
3. This assembly should have the power of determining war or peace, making alliances; and, in short, all that power which sovereigns of states usually claim as their own.
4. The expenses of war to be paid out of the common treasury, and raised by a poll tax on males between 16 and 60: the proportions to be determined by the laws of the colony.
5. An executive council to be appointed to act in place of the congress during its recess.
6. No colony to make war with the Indians without consent of congress.
7. The boundaries of all the Indian lands to be secured and ascertained to them; and no purchases of lands were to be made by individuals, or even by a colony, without consent of congress.
8. Agents appointed by congress should reside among the Indians, to prevent frauds in trading with them.

showing the necessity of taking up arms  
Britain. This, like all their other pub  
fraught with the utmost energy of langu  
the same time it was ushered in with a so  
could not fail to make a deep impression  
whom it was calculated. " Were it possib  
" for men who exercise their reason, to be  
divine Author of our existence intended  
human race to hold an absolute propert  
bounded power over others, marked out b  
goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a  
tion, never rightfully resistible, however se  
pressive; the inhabitants of these colonies r  
require from the parliament of Great Brit  
dence that this dreadful authority over th  
granted to that body: but a reverence for o  
ator, principles of humanity, and the dict  
mon sense, must convince all those who  
the subject, that government was institute  
the welfare of mankind, and ought to be s  
for the attainment of that end.

" The legislature of Great Britain, how  
lated by an inordinate passion for power, i  
justifiable, but which they know to be pec  
bated by the very constitution of that kind  
spairing of success in any mode of conte  
and should be had

tain, though  
took up the unfortunate  
peace, and of then subduing

ted colonies were judged to be in such  
ent victories without bloodshed, and all  
uments of statutable plunder. The un-  
nor of their peaceable and respectful be-  
the beginning of their colonization; their  
ons, and useful services during the war,  
recently and amply acknowledged in the  
able manner by his majesty, by the late  
y parliament, could not save them from the  
novations. Parliament was influenced to  
ernicious project; and assuming a new pow-  
em, has, in the course of eleven years given  
ive specimens of the spirit and consequences  
this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects  
cease under it.

have undertaken to give and grant our money  
our consent, though we have ever exercised  
sive right to dispose of our own property.  
have been passed for extending the jurisdic-  
the courts of admiralty and vice admiralty be-  
their ancient limits; for depriving us of the ac-  
ed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in ca-  
ecting both life and property; for suspending the  
ture of one of our colonies; for interdicting all  
erce to the capital of another; and for altering  
mentally the form of government established by  
er, and secured by acts of its own legislature,  
solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting  
murderers of colonists from legal trial, and in ef-  
from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring  
vince, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain  
America, a despotism dangerous to our very exist-  
ce; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in  
ie of a profound peace. It has also been resolved  
parliament, that colonists, charged with committing  
tain offences, shall be transported to England to be  
led.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in de-  
tail?—By one statute it was declared, that parliament  
can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatev-  
er. What is to defend us against so enormous, so un-  
limited a power? Not a single person who assumes it  
is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence;  
out, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from  
the operation of such laws; and an American revenue  
diverted from the ostensible purposes for which

...have pursued every temperate, every  
measure ; we have even proceeded to break  
mercantile intercourse with our fellow subjects,  
peaceable admonition, that our attachment to  
on earth would supplant our attachment to  
we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step  
troversty ; but subsequent events have shown  
was this hope of finding moderation in our e

"The lords and commons, in their address  
month of February, said, that a rebellion actually  
existed in the province of Massachusetts  
and that those concerned in it had been countenanced  
and encouraged by unlawful combinations and  
movements entered into by his majesty's subjects  
of the colonies ; and therefore they besought his  
majesty that he would take the most effectual measures  
to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of  
supreme legislature. Soon after the commerce of  
the colonies with foreign countries was cut  
off by an act of parliament ; by another, the  
fishery was entirely prohibited from the fisheries  
near their coasts, on which they always  
relied for their subsistence ; and large reinforcements  
of troops were immediately sent over to  
Gage.

"Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments,  
and the influence of an illustrious band of

forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtably attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, again offered, we have taken up arms, down when hostilities shall cease of our aggressors, and all danger of their being all be removed—and not before.<sup>12</sup>

These striking passages of this famous declaration of July, 1775. The people of America were convinced by the determination to breathe, without inquiring whether the principles on which it is founded are right or wrong, that the conquest of America was an event scarcely ever to be expected.

In every other respect, an equal spirit was shown; a military rage had seized the minds of almost all the colonists. Persons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully into the ranks. Even many of the young Quakers took up arms, formed themselves into companies, and applied with the utmost assiduity, to acquire a proficiency in military discipline; nay, so universal was the ambition of distinguishing themselves in the cause of liberty, that no fewer than two hundred thousand men are said at this time to have been training throughout the continent.

Whilst the rulers of the British nation were intent upon conquering America, they had the mortification to see those whom they styled *rebels* and *traitors*, succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms: but in this, as in thing else indeed, they found themselves mistaken. The Canadians having been subject to Britain for a period of 15 years, and being thus rendered sensible of the advantages of British government, received the

though they did not join the American cause, they were found immovable in their purpose to remain neutral. Application was made to the bishop; but he refused to interpose his influence, as contrary to the wishes of the Popish clergy: so that the utmost effort in this province were found to answer no purpose.

The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to induce them, they universally replied, that they did not wish to take the nature of the quarrel, nor could they decide whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they would not see Englishmen asking their assistance of the French, who were engaged to another; and advised them to be reconciled to the British, and to think of shedding the blood of their brethren. In answer to the representations of Congress they paid no attention. These set forth, that the English, on the other side of the ocean, had taken up arms to enslave, not to free, their countrymen in America, but the Indians and the French; the latter should enable them to overcome the former, and they themselves would soon be reduced to slavery also. By arguments of this kind, the Indians were engaged to remain neuter; and thus they were freed from a most dangerous



and buy and sell, and trade with their brethen beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's for ever, and at their sole disposal.

"Brother

"V

coun

onies

"May

break the co

good talks.

into a coven

cast behind

their anc

hold of

into,

own

chart

as ou

goods, without asking our leave. They tell us that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

"Brothers, we live on the same ground with you; the same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another."

At the same time that the declaration setting forth their reasons for taking up arms was published, congress sent addresses to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica. In these, they gave reasons for the measures they had taken, vindicated themselves from the charge of aiming at independency, professed willingness to submit to the several acts of trade navigation which were passed before the year 1763, capitulated their reasons for rejecting lord North's

id Frienda, open an ear!

ow tell you of the quarrel betwixt the King George and the inhabitants and colonies.

is counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more

upon him to enter

ve torn asunder, and

old covenant which

nto, and took strong

will put their hands

though it were their

will take from us our

tion, which we love

our houses, and our

conciliation motion—stated the hardships they suffered from the operations of the royal army in Boston, and insinuated the danger the inhabitants of the empire would be in of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued.

All these addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. A second petition to the king was moved for by Mr. Dickinson, and it was carried through congress, chiefly by him, and was the work of his pen. In this, among other things, it was stated, "that notwithstanding their sufferings, they had re-

July 8. tained too high a regard for the kingdom from which they derived their origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity and welfare. Attached to his majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society, and deploring every event that tended in any degree to weaken them, they not only most fervently desired the former harmony between her and the colonies to be restored, but that a concord might be established between them, upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations, in both countries. They therefore besought that his majesty would be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." This well meant petition was presented on September 1st, 1775, by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, and, three days after, lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it no answer would be given." The rejection of this petition served as a sufficient answer to those colonists who thought they had been too hasty in their opposition to the parent state.

The mother country wished for absolute submission to her authority, the colonists for a repeal of every act that imposed taxes, or that interfered in their internal legislation. The British ministry being determined not to repeal these acts, and the congress equally determined not to submit to them, the claims of the two countries were so wide of each other as to afford no reasonable ground to expect a compromise.

The other remarkable transactions of this congress were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposals made by lord North; and appointing a generalissimo to command their armies, which were now very

merous. The person chosen for this purpose, was George Washington, Esq. of Virginia; a man so universally esteemed, that he was raised to such a high station by the unanimous voice of congress. This election was either accompanied with competition nor followed by any; but flowed from the same general impulse on the public mind, which led the colonists to agree in other particulars. Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, two English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen; the former an adjutant general, the latter a major general. Artemas Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were likewise nominated major generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, Daniel Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Van, and Nathaniel Green, were also nominated as majors at the same time.

On the 1st of July, expressing a desire to receive deputies from the other colonies had been oppressed, and the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omission, because of the seeming little consequence of their colony, and therefore looked upon it rather to be a slight than a favour. After the accession of Georgia, the confederacy assumed the title of the Thirteen United Colonies.

As the scene of action begins to open wherein the commander in chief acquired such distinguished glory, some account of that great man becomes necessary; but to draw his character in his life time, would savour of flattery. Posterity will do ample justice to actions, which being still fresh in remembrance, are the amplest panegyric. George Washington, Esq. was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 11th of February, 1732. He is of English extraction, and descended from one of the most opulent and respectable families in Virginia. His education and youthful exercises tended to form a solid mind and a vigorous body. He was naturally inclined, and early in life applied himself to the military profession; and acquired considerable experience in the command of different bodies of the provincial troops during the war against France. His gallant conduct in that war has been already noticed. After the peace of 1763, colonel Washington retired to his estate at Mount Vernon, and devoted himself to a private and philosophic life, of which he was particularly fond, and which he certainly would not have relinquished, had the voice of his country and

of its danger, called him forth to public view, to assert her rights. He was appointed a delegate to the congress which met in September 1774. Born with abilities to be the leader of a brave and independent people in war, and to unite the jarring interests of a number of states, nature has not been less favourable to him in corporeal than in mental endowments. His person is majestic and striking: his physiognomy is prepossessing, and strongly expressive of the noble qualities of his soul. This was the man, in whom, next to God, America confided her fate; and his subsequent conduct fully justified the choice; having led his countrymen through the mazes of a tedious and bloody war, to the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and independence.

General Washington soon after his appointment to the command of the American army, set  
*June 21.* out on his way to the camp at Cambridge, accompanied by general Lee. In his progress, he was treated with the highest honours in every place through which he passed, both by public bodies and by individuals. Large detachments of volunteers, composed of private gentlemen, turned out to receive him. When he reached the army, he was  
*July 2.* received with joyful acclamations. He published at the head of the troops, the declaration previously drawn up by Congress, setting forth the reasons of taking up arms.

At this time the British were entrenched on Bunker's Hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic River, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had the neck strongly fortified, and a battery on Copp's Hill.

The continental army under the command of general Washington, amounted to about 14,500 men. They were entrenched at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury, communicating with one another by small posts over a distance of ten miles. Parties were likewise stationed in several towns along the sea coast. This whole force was thrown into three grand divisions: general Ward commanded the right wing, at Roxbury; general Lee, the left, at Prospect Hill; and the centre was commanded by general Washington. These dispositions were so judiciously made, that the British were pent up in the town, and excluded from the provisions and forage which the adjacent country, and islands in Boston Bay, afforded.

Great embarrassments occurred in forming the continental army into a regular system. Enterprising leaders had come forward with their followers, w

ble to assign to every officer the station which his services merited, or his vanity aspired to; and to introduce discipline and subordination among freemen who were accustomed to think for themselves, was an arduous task. Many of the southern riflemen deserted to the enemy, others were motinious and repugnant to all kind of duty; and some officers were found who were a disgrace to the Massachusetts colony, by practising the meanest in. Every subtility that avarice could carry on, were used to cheat the who procured commissions, not to fight es of their country, but to prey upon its chief, and the army soon checked by the common chief, and the army better officered; and the troops gradually acquired the mechanism and movements as well as the name of an army. Method and punctuality began to be introduced. The military skill of adjutant general Gates was of infinite service in these arrangements. The want of engineers to plan suitable works, and tools for their execution, were sensibly felt; yet the zeal and activity of the soldiers in general, greatly made up for these defects.

It was found on the 4th of August, that the whole stock of powder throughout the four New England provinces, could make but little more than pine rounds a man, to the army investing Boston. They remained in this destitute condition for a fortnight or more. During this interval, the scarcity of powder became a common camp talk; and a deserter carried an account of it to Boston. But the British, having been so often deceived, durst not rely upon the intelligence. Besides, though they had met with unexpected proofs of American courage, yet they could not believe that the colonists were possessed of such consummate assurance, as to continue investing them, whilst so destitute of ammunition. They rather suspected a deep laid plot to insnare them. At length, the American army was relieved. The Jersey committee of Elizabeth Town, upon receiving the alarming news, sent a few tons, with the greatest privacy, lest the fears of their own people, had it been known, should have stopt it for their own use, in case of an emergency. A supply of several thousand pounds weight of powder was soon after obtained from Africa, in exchange for New England rum. This was managed with so much address every ounce for sale in the British forts on the Atlantic coasts, was purchased and brought off for the use of the colonists.

The first attempts of the Americans at sea, were successful. In the month of November, 1775

huselts assembly and the continental congress both resolved to grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to establish courts of admiralty. The object was first limited to the defence of the American coast, and intercepting warlike stores and supplies designed for the use of their enemies; but as the prospect of accommodation gradually vanished, it was extended to all British property on the high seas.

In the end of the same month, the *Lee* *Cob.* 29. privateer, commanded by captain Manly of Marblehead, captured the brig *Nancy*, an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar upon a new construction, afterwards called the congress, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils and machines necessary for camps and artillery; so that had congress sent an order for the articles most wanted, they could not have made out a more suitable invoice. The whole value of the vessel and cargo was computed at 50,000*l.* and this loss, in particular, occasioned much discontent in Britain.

About two months before this valuable capture, a ship from Bristol to Boston, with flour, having parted with her convoy, was decoyed into Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and secured for the benefit of the Americans. Several store ships were captured in the month of December. Among others, captain Manly took three, with various stores for the troops in Boston, and a brig from Antigua with rum.

These were part of the immense supplies which the British ministry had prepared for the relief of the troops in Boston. It is said that no fewer than five thousand ten, fourteen thousand of the largest and fattest sheep, with a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent at alive. Incredible quantities of vegetables were also bought up, and cured by new methods. Ten thousand butts of strong beer were supplied by two brewers. Five thousand chaldrons of coals were purchased in the river Thames and shipped off for Boston; and even the article of faggots was sent from London. The immense expense of maintaining armies at such a distance from Britain, was now, for the first time, experientially felt. Some estimate of the expense of the whole may be formed, from that of the trifling articles of vegetables, casks and vinegar, which amounted to little less than 12,000*l.* and the articles of hay, straw, and beans, for a single regiment of light cavalry, nearly as much more. Besides all this enormous expense, and the charge of flour, corn, and salted provisions, near half a million of money was expended in

pest, likewise, which discharged it-  
the shores of Newfoundland, contributed  
the success of those who remained.  
have risen, almost instantaneously,  
its level. Upwards of seven hundred  
number of ships, with all on board, per-  
n, whilst the waves, surpassing their  
ar, overwhelmed every thing with a

1775]

## AMERICAN

rapid and unavoidable destruction presented a shocking spectacle. The fishing nets were hauled. These disasters were, by some, attributed to the vengeance of the Deity on the accumulated misfortune.

The accumulated misfortune gave new life and spirit to the brave and intrepid sailors who were blocked up in Boston. They were determined to see a number of the very entrance of the harbour, and the ships of war were sent to the stores and necessities which the stores and necessities which the sustenance and use of their arms, it had been found necessary to supply the troops.

In order to supply the troops, a predatory war. In the course of Falmouth, in Massachusetts Bay, a fence relative to the loading of a demned to the flames. The officers said to have declared he had the towns on the coast between. However he gave the people time to lie from the danger, which, undecision for delivering up their arms out till next morning; during had removed the greatest part of the nine in the morning, on the 18th of refusal to deliver up their arms, and a violent discharge of cannon and shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were town, by which the principal part of warehouses, and consisting of 130 dwelling court-house, the old town-house, and were reduced to ashes. About one worst houses, favoured by their situation escaped without damage. This produced the sea coast, and occasioned many their families and effects farther into the had no tendency to procure the submission to the power and mercy of the armed A few days after the burning of Falmouth took possession of the Old South meeting, and destined it for a riding school for the light dragoons. These proceedings increased the irritability of the minds of the people, and led to a more determined spirit in opposition to Great Britain.



about the dead of night. The sailors, on seeing the signal, with a flash of powder, of the Asia, the people on shore mistook the signal to fire a musket at them, and immediately fired a volley of shot at the boat, by which a Captain Vandeput soon after commencing the Asia with grape shot, swivel shot, and muskets, without killing a single person, a three, two slightly, the other lost it. He then ceased a considerable time, as the people had desisted from their pursuit, and were only changing their mode of operation.

Capt. Sears provided a decoy party to draw the Asia's fire from the flag party. He sent the former behind the buildings, by which they were secured by decoys. On observing the flash of the Asia's gun in readiness, they buzzed and sung, though tugging in unison, and fired whilst the working party silently galled the Asia with eighteen pounders, with carriages, rammers, &c.

Upon hearing the noise and seeing the smoke of musketry, the captain ordered a volley to be fired towards that part of the decoy party had secured.

Aug. 24. The decoy party had secured the city. However, some of the city and did damage.

This affair happened between twelve and two in the morning, and threw the city into the utmost consternation. The disaffection of the Yorkers was very much increased by the capture of the Asia, that captain Vandeput would not surrender the city. A removal of men, and goods commenced, and continued until the morning. Matters were however so far adjusted, that the apprehensions of the people, in referring further from the fire of the city, the convention permitted Abraham Lincoln to supply the king's ships, stationed

...they considered as  
Hostilities commenced in Georgia  
posite parties, about the middle of  
number of royalists attacked the An  
ed them, after three days, to surren  
taken possession of, in which they ex  
effectual resistance.

Before the close of the year congress  
five vessels of 32 guns, five of 28, an  
order to distress the enemy and protect  
They likewise resolved that a commit  
pointed for the sole purpose of con  
their friends in Great Britain, Ireland,  
of the world. This committee is said  
ed very essential services to the comm  
doubtless, their papers, if ever made pu  
great light upon the history of the At  
tion.

In all the countries of Europe, in w  
fairs were the subject, either of writing or  
the general voice was in favour of th  
Even Voltaire and Rousseau agreed in  
scarcely ever in any thing else.

... the command of general Montgomery, to whom were committed the main military arrangements in the north with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain they were to be conveyed in flat bottom mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the Lawrence, and on which is situated a farm name with the river. On the other hand opposed by general Carleton, governor of of great activity and experience in war very few troops, had hitherto been able the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding the representations of the colonists.

As soon as general Montgomery arrived at Point, he received information that several vessels were stationed at St. John's, a strait Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing which he took possession of an island within the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he prevented them from entering the lake. In conjunction with general Schuyler, he next proceeded to Sorel, finding that place too strong, it was agreed of war, to retire to Isle aux Noix, where general Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left alone. His first step was to gain over the

escape into the woods. The colonel, together with forty of his men, the rest prisoners, were sent in irons to England, on the orders of general Carleton; on the ground, Allen was an uncommissioned adventurer. As the defeat was, however, afterwards sent back to

Nov. 3. As the defeat of general Carle's  
desertion of Maclean's forces left  
the garrison of St. John's to hope  
for relief, they now consented to surrender them-  
selves and 200 Canadians. They were in number 5  
great humanity. They were in number 5  
French nobility, among whom were  
the cause of Britain among their countrymen.  
General Montgomery next took  
the British shipping from  
Montreal to Ouellet.

General Montgomery next took measures to the British shipping from passing down the Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished Nov. 13. itself, that the whole were taken. Usually, that the whole were taken. To surrender at discretion; and it was the utmost difficulty that general Carleton escaped the night time in a boat with muffled paddles; escape saved the province, which he found now ed in an unexpected danger from a new enter the provincials. This was an expedition from the provinces.

and constancy. Provisions became at last scarce, that some of the men ate their dogs, and their shoes and cartouch boxes. Though the army might now well be judged desperate, Arnold, with a few who adhered to him, scarcely four hundred in number, still proceeded with great constancy; and having crossed a ridge extending quite through the part of the continent, called the *Heights of Land*, they arrived at length at the head of the *Claudiere*, a branch of the river *St. Lawrence*, after which they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada. On the 3d November they procured some provisions, and so after came to a house, being the first they had seen in thirty-one days.

On the appearance of colonel Arnold, the Canadians manifested the same good will to him that they had done to Montgomery; and he, on his part, assured them of the good wishes of the American colonies, whom he invited them to join in perpetual friendship; for which purpose he published a declaration, signed by general Washington. The American army, he told them, was not come to plunder, but to protect and animate them; they were requested therefore, not to desert their habitations, or fly from their friends, but to supply them with necessaries, for which he assured them they should be amply recompensed. Arnold, having accomplished this astonishing expedition, thereby acquired the name of the American Hannibal.

After the escape of general Carleton from Montreal in the manner already mentioned, general Prescott with some other officers, and all the armed force, among whom were one hundred and twenty British soldiers with eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the provincials. Montgomery having found plenty of warlike manufactures, among other articles, at Montreal, took the opportunity of clothing his troops, and preparing for their future progress in his intended expedition, which was now found to be attended with very great difficulties. One of the principal of these arose from the nature of the engagements entered into by the provincial soldiers. Having enlisted only for a cer-

remedy these evils; and having most  
personal influence, prevailed on his troops to  
the enterprise he had so happily begun  
join Arnold, with as many men as he could  
defence of Montreal, and those detachments  
were sent into different parts of the province  
encourage and persuade the inhabitants to

It would probably have contributed great  
success of this enterprise, if neither of the  
had approached the town of Quebec till the  
other, as much depended on the effect of  
appearance before the place. Colonel Arnold  
er, instead of waiting for his superior, pushed

Nov. 9. directly to the capital, which he  
very distracted situation. An un-

vision and discontent reigned  
inhabitants, owing to the opposition of the B  
chants and others to the Quebec act. The p  
this subject had been greatly resented by  
government; and so far did they appear to  
suspected, that their application for leave  
themselves as a militia for the defence of M  
not even met with any answer. With reg  
French inhabitants, the case was still worse  
universally known to waver, and some to  
disaffected, that no confidence was to be  
in them for the defence

the season. His batteries were composed of snow and water, which soon became solid ice. He then commenced a bombardment with five small mortars, but with little effect. In a few days the general opened a six gun battery at the distance of 700 yards from the walls, but his metal was too light to make any impression. The severities of the season, likewise, increased in such a manner, that human nature seemed no longer able to resist them, and he determined at last to put all to the issue of a general assault; it not being expected that the garrison would make much resistance. But whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this purpose, intelligence of the design is said to have been conveyed to the garrison by some deserters; so that, perceiving by the motions of the enemy, that they were taking proper measures to frustrate his design, he was obliged to alter his mode of proceeding. On the 31st of December, 1775, he made the arduous attempt, under cover of a violent snow storm. The

American army, consisting of about 800 men, was divided into four bodies, of which *two were directed to make false attacks on the upper town, one by colonel Livingston at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; and the other by major Brown, against Cape Diamond; whilst*

was the  
batter  
June  
e com  
on had  
pect of  
ery is  
length  
was  
an  
suc  
my,  
neral  
ey of  
w and  
com  
rs, but  
ened a  
on the  
mpres  
reased  
longer  
put all  
pected  
But  
us for  
have

execution of Livingston's command. He  
ed with his division, and passed the  
then advanced boldly to attack the seco  
much stronger. A violent discharge of  
several cannon, together with a well  
musketry, here put an end to the life an  
enterprising officer. His aid-de camp,  
M'Pherson, captain Cheesman, and m  
officers, fell at the same time. This s  
men, that colonel Campbell, on whom  
devolved, thought proper to draw them

In the mean time colonel Arnold,   
passed through St. Roques, and made  
upon a two gun battery, which, althoug  
ed, was at length carried, but with co  
In this attack colonel Arnold, having hi  
was carried off the field of battle. His  
ever, carried on the attack with great vi  
ing on, made themselves masters of a  
The garrison having now driven off the  
every other quarter, and directing the  
against this small body, entirely surrou  
prevented every possibility of escape.  
desperate circumstances, they did not yi  
had continued the fight three hours, dur  
their numbers were greatly reduced,  
that some misfortunes must have befall



by one man for the preservation of a country. It also proves that soldiers may in a short time be formed out of the mass of citizens."

The conduct and courage of general Carleton in the defence of his province, and the behaviour of the garrison, met with deserved applause; nor could the valour of the American troops be exceeded. They had fought under as great disadvantages as those which attended the British at Bunker's hill, and had behaved equally well, although unsuccessful. Such a terrible disaster left no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their purpose, as the force under general Arnold was now greatly reduced. He did not, however, abandon the province, but retreated to a greater distance than three miles from

The provincials in their camp in the best manner they could be defensive of an attack from the garrison. There were few regular troops in the place, and Carleton did not choose to venture on a battle, as well knowing that any misfortune would still endanger the loss of the province. Arnold, indeed, in his present situation, discovered an amazing vigor of mind, as well as perseverance in his enterprise. Though the severity of the winter was far beyond any thing they had hitherto experienced, the snow lying four feet deep on a level, he made a shift not only to keep his troops together, but to render them formidable. An express was dispatched to General Wooster, who was at Montreal, to come with a reinforcement, and assume the command; but as this could not be instantly done, he bore up, with the small force he had, against the difficulties which surrounded him, and by obstructing the supplies of provisions and other necessities into the town, rendered its situation still precarious, should any considerable reinforcement arrive in time to his little army. The Canadians, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms, still continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. The congress, far from passing any censure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier general.

Whilst hostilities were thus carried on with vigor in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. It had proceeded so far that the assembly was dissolved, and the governor had refused to call a new

Hence a plausible reason was afforded to the people for assembling a provincial congress, where, by virtue of an old law of 1728, they took measures for arraying the militia, on pretence of the danger they were in from the negroes; and to remedy the defect of this bill, they recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company for the better defence and protection of the province. Lord Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party were on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner as greatly to increase the public ferment.

The people now held frequent assemblies. Some of them took up arms with a design to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession; but on their way to Williamsburg for this purpose, they were met by the receiver general, who became security for the payment of the gunpowder, and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

By this insurrection the governor was so much intimidated, that he sent his family on board the Fowey man of war. He himself, however, issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the person who promoted the tumult treasonable, accused the people of disaffection, &c. On their part they were by no means deficient in recriminating; and some letters of his to Britain, being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued extremely similar to those which had been occasioned by those of Mr. Hutchinson at Boston.

In this state of confusion the governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arrived also about the same time and he used his utmost endeavors to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were pho

on, was highly probable that some attention  
 ve been paid to them. "The view (he sa  
 the colonies ought to behold this conciliato  
 was no more than an earnest admonition fr  
 obtain to relieve her wants: that the usual  
 endence had been used in the mode of applica  
 determinate sum having been fixed, as it wa  
 most worthy of British generosity to take wha  
 ought could be conveniently spared, and lik  
 leave the mode of raising it to themselves," &c.  
 clamour and dissatisfaction were now so un  
 versal, that nothing else could be heard. The  
 governor had called an assembly for the pu  
 pose of laying this conciliatory proposal be  
 fore them; but it had been little attended to. The  
 assembly began their session by inquiries into the state  
 of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of  
 the townsmen; for which reason spring guns had been  
 set there by the governor, which discharged them  
 selves upon the offenders at their entrance;  
 these circumstances, with others of a similar  
 kind, raised such a violent uproar, that, as  
 soon as the preliminary business of the session was over,  
 the governor retired on board the *Powey* man of war,  
 informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust  
 himself on shore. This produced a long course of  
 disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the  
 governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg,  
 even to give his assent to the bills, which could not  
 be passed without it, although the assembly offered  
 to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his  
 turn he requested them to meet him on board the  
 man of war, where he then was; but his proposal was  
 rejected, and all farther correspondence, containing the  
 least appearance of friendship, was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, having thus abandoned his govern-  
 ment, attempted to reduce by force those whom he could  
 no longer govern. Some of the most strenuous ad-  
 herents to the British cause, whom their zeal had ren-  
 dered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He  
 was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these,  
 and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for  
 some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war,  
 sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue.

After some inconsiderable attempts on land,  
*Nov. 7.* proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up  
 the royal standard, he took up his residence  
 at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence,  
 where the people were better affected to Britain than in

and importance was formed by one M  
Pennsylvanian, attached to the cause of  
first step of this plan was to enter into  
the Ohio Indians. This he communica  
Dunmore, and it received his approbation;  
Connelly set out, and actually succeeded i  
On his return, he was dispatched to go  
from whom he received a colonel's comm  
set out in order to accomplish the remain  
scheme. The plan in general was, that he  
turn to the Ohio, where, by the assistance o  
ish and Indians in these parts, he was to  
through the back settlements into Virginia  
lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But by an  
very naturally to be expected, he was discov  
prisoner, and confined.  
After the retreat of lord Dunmore from  
that place was taken possession of by the prov  
who greatly distressed those on board lord Du  
1776. fleet, by refusing to supply them w  
Jan. 1. necessities, and by firing on them w  
hind the buildings and warehouses fr  
wharves. These proceedings drew a re  
strance from his lordship; in which he likewise  
that the fleet should be furnished with  
his request being denied  
fire to the town  
warpi

Towards the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast possessions of that tract of land since known by the name of the *United States* were now reduced to the single town of Boston; in which forces were besieged by an enemy with whom she was apparently not able to cope, and by whom she was of course expected in a very short time to be evacuated. The inhabitants of Boston were unhappy. After having held the town, in April, 1775, being apprehensive that they might give the British troops, strictly prohibited any person from leaving the place under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March 1776, when the town was evacuated.

General Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded, with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore. This terrible attack continued for 14 days without intermission; when general Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack, on a hill called Dorchester Neck, which, during one night, the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprise next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented an exertion which must have been productive of a dreadful waste of blood. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprise altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and extremely well provided with artillery; and, besides other implements of destruction, upwards of 100 hogshheads of stones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the ascent was extremely steep, must have done prodigious execution.

Nothing therefore now remained but to the retreat; and even this was attended with the difficulty and danger. The Americans, however, being that it was in the power of the British to reduce the town to ashes, which could not

selectmen, who were allowed to go to the American camp, that general Howe did not intend to burn the town unless he was impeded in his embarkation, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and for the space of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them 2000 of the inhabitants, who durst not stay, on account of their attachment to the British cause. Several ships were left behind, in order to protect such vessels as should arrive from Britain; and the fortifications of Castle William were blown up, lest the Americans should, by their means, look up the men of war in the harbour, and render any future attempt on the town by sea, totally impracticable. From Boston they sailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the Americans. During the embarkation of the rear of the royal army,

*March 17.* general Washington marched into the town of Boston with all the parade of victory, and was received by the inhabitants, who now recovered their liberty, with every possible mark of gratitude and respect, as their deliverer. He likewise received the public thanks of the assembly of the province. Being apprehensive however, that general Howe, who had rather more than 7000 men embarked, might make some attempt on New York, he that very day sent off some regiments for the defence of the place, under the conduct of general Lee. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck; and in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. Some shops, it is said, were opened and stripped of their goods by the soldiers; part was carried off, and part wantonly destroyed. These irregularities were forbidden in orders, and the guilty threatened with death; but nevertheless much mischief was committed. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town.

As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very strong, impregnable. For this purpose, some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston; and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week, to complete it the sooner.

## CHAP. VIII.

The Siege of Quebec continued—General Carleton receives relief—Sullivan retreats—General Thomson defeated—General Sullivan captures the remains of the American army—General Mifflin shot by Lieutenant Whitcombe, when unarmed—Mifflin's Exploits in Boston Bay—Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and a number of Highlanders carried in prison—a smart combat—General Moore's army in North Carolina—Charleston, S. C. besieged by a British fleet and army—They are forced to retreat with great loss—Commodore Hopkin's fleet and stores in the Bahama Islands—Fail to capture the Glasgow frigate—The British sail up Lake Champlain, and destroy the Naval Force of the Americans—Congress declare the States independent—Battle on Long Island—General Washington's able Retreat—The Royal Commissioners hold a Conference with a Committee of Congress—New York abandoned—Battle at the White Plains—The British overrun the Jerseys—The desperate situation of the American affairs—General Lee taken prisoner and closely confined—Lieut. Colonel Campbell confined in a dungeon in Concord gaol—Gen. Sullivan joins Gen. Washington—Rhode Island taken, and Commodore Hopkin's squadron blocked up—Gen. Washington invested with Dictatorial Power—He gives a new turn to the affairs of America, by surprising and defeating the British in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton—Cruelties of the Hessians and British in the Jerseys—Causes of the decline of the British affairs—Indians attack the back settlements of the Southern States—They are routed and sue for Peace—Affairs in Britain—American privateers distress their trade—An account of John the Painter.

In Canada, the American arms continued unsuccessful; nor did they ever recover after the blow they received before the walls of Quebec. That unsuccessful assault made a deep impression on the Canadians and Indians, which the most animating addresses of Congress were unable to remove.

Congress, in their letter to the Canadians, observe, Jan. 21. "Such is the lot of human nature, the best of causes are subject to vicissitudes, but generous souls, enlightened and warmed with the fire of liberty, become more resolute as difficulties

crease." They stated to them, that "eight battallions were raising to proceed to their province, and that if more force was necessary it should be sent." They requested them to seize with eagerness the favourable opportunity then offered to co-operate in the present glorious enterprise.

The cause of the Americans had received such powerful aid from many patriotic publications in their gazettes, and from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, connecting the cause of liberty with the principles of religion, that it was determined to employ these two powerful instruments, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadians. A complete apparatus for printing, together with a printer and a clergyman, were therefore sent into Canada.

These powerful auxiliaries were, however, of no avail. Reinforcements had been promised to general Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form; attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. The provincials were unsuccessful, by reason of the smallness of their number, though they succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs; and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and  
*March 25.* in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body under the command of one Mr. Beanjen, in order to relieve the capital; but they were met on their march, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing.

By the first of May so many new troops had arrived, that the American army, in name, amounted to 3000; but they had little reason to plume themselves on their success or augmented numbers. Their want of artillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified: the small pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. The affections of the Canadians were likewise alienated by the rapacity and love of plunder which led many of the invading army to practise, disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the cause which they had taken up arms. To add to their



fortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was

separated from the other, and general Carleton, sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with precipitation, leaving behind them, all their military stores; at the same time that their entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. On this occasion the provincials fled so that they could not be overtaken; so that none fell in the hands of the British, excepting the sick and the wounded.

The humanity and generosity of general Carleton met with no less applause, on this prosperous turn in his favour, than what he acquired by the brave and judicious defence he had made, at every thing seemed to conspire against him. A number of the sick and wounded Americans were left about in the woods and villages, not only destitute of every comfort necessary in their miserable situation, but in the utmost danger of perishing for want. To prevent the melancholy fate which threatened these unfortunate men, the victorious general issued a proclamation, to remove their doubts and fears, engaging, "that they should have relief and assistance at the public expense;" at the same time assuring them, "that as soon as they were recovered, they should have free liberty to depart." "This humane line of conduct," says Dr. Ramsay, was more injurious to the views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders. The truly politic, as well as humane general Carleton, dismissed these prisoners, after liberally supplying their wants, with a recommendation, "to go home, mind their farms, and keep themselves and their neighbors from all participation in the unhappy war."

It was during this calamitous state of affairs that congress were seriously deliberating upon a final separation from Great Britain. And, at length, in the month of July, the declaration of independence was published. A particular account of this momentous transaction will be given hereafter. In the mean time we shall go on with an account of the northern campaign.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put the head of about 13,000 men, among whom we

those of Brunswick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had retired to Sorel, a place 150 miles distant from Quebec, where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by congress. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardour, a very daring enterprise was undertaken; and this was, to surprise the British troops posted here under generals Fraser and Nesbit; of whom the former commanded those on land, the latter such as were on board of transports, and were but a little way distant. The enterprise was undoubtedly very hazardous, both on account of the strength of the parties against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within 50 miles of the place; besides, that a number of armed vessels and transports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, however, under general Thomson, engaged in this enterprise. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valor. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, general Fraser had notice of their landing; and thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder, at the same time that general Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion some field pieces

*June 8.* did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit, however, had got between them and their boats; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, whilst they were hotly pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of the swamp, till at last the unfortunate provincials were sheltered from further damage by a wood at the end of the swamp. Their general, however, was taken, with 200 of his men.

By this disaster the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing in Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were pursued, however, by general Burgoyne; against whom it was expected that they would have collected all their force, and made a resolute stand. But they were now too much dispirited by misfortune, to make any farther exertions of valor. On the 18th of June the British general

*June 18.* arrived at Fort St. John's, which he found abandoned and burnt. *Chambles* had shared the same fate, as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up against the cur-

rent of the river. It was thought that they would have made some resistance at Nut Island, the entrance to Lake Champlain; but this also they had abandoned, and retreated across the lake to Crown Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; and the loss in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at less than 1000 men, of whom 400 fell into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about 50 miles above Montreal, by the bad conduct of colonel Cole and major Butterfield, who escaped deserved punishment, and were only cashiered and disgraced. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of general Thomson, had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of congress accordingly.

Great numbers of Canadians had taken a decided part with the Americans; and although congress had assured them but a few months before, "that they would never abandon them to the fury of their common enemies," the provincial commanders were, from the necessity of the case, forced to leave them to the mercy of that government against which they had offended. A short time before the Americans evacuated Canada, general Arnold was busily employed in plundering the merchants of Montreal, under pretence of supplying the army. And "his nephew, soon after, opened a store at Albany, and publicly disposed of goods which had been procured at Montreal."

General Sullivan left the northern army on the 12th of July, and was succeeded by general Gates. General Sullivan's return of the troops serving in Canada was 7006. It appears that the whole loss sustained by the provincials at Quebec, Three Rivers, Cedars, the consequent retreat from Canada, together with deaths and desertions which happened from the first of April, amounted to upwards of 5000 men, exclusive of 3000 sick.

Towards the end of July, one lieutenant Whitcombe, a Green Mountain boy, who was out on a scouting party, was guilty of a most base and villanous action, from no other principle than a desire to plunder. He wanted a sword and a watch; and in order to supply himself, shot general Gordon, as he was riding unarmed from St. John's towards Chamblee. The general died of the wound a few days after. This, as was natural, raised the resentment of sir Guy Carleton's army. Through the weakness of government, and military discipline, at that time, he was neither delivered up to the enemy, nor received deserved punishment.

the order; but it was  
had sailed. Soon after he had  
ship Hope of 270 tons, 4 guns,  
to view. She was last from C  
1500 barrels of gunpowder, be  
onets, travelling carriages for be  
riety of tools, implements, and n  
and artillery. Captain  
May 17. set of fifty tons and fo  
and ordered her to strik  
from the sailors declining to fig  
tives, made no resistance. Com  
few miles off with his men of w  
boats might soon have been up v  
captain of the Hope, sensible of t  
orders to his men to cut the topsa  
Mugford heard the orders, and kno  
of executing them—that the sailing  
be so long prevented, that the n  
would recover her. He therefore o  
ley of oaths and execrations, and,  
manner, threatened the captain a  
board with immediate death if the o  
ed, upon which the captain was so te  
After taking possession of his prize, l  
ed by two other small cruisers, who  
ing her safe through Pudding  
ants of Boston.

Commodore Banks, omitting to leave cruisers in the bay, after he was forced to leave Nantasket, afforded an opportunity to the American privateers of taking a number of Highlanders. Three days after

June 17. quitting it, the George and Annabella transports entered, after a passage of seven weeks from Scotland, during which time, they had not an opportunity of speaking with a single vessel, that could give them the smallest information of the British troops in the evacuated Boston. They were attacked in the morning by the privateers, with whom they engaged till evening, when the privateers bore away, and the transports pushed for Boston harbour, not doubting but to receive protection, either from the fort, or ship force stationed for the security of British shipping. They stood up for Nantasket road, when an American vessel opened upon them, which was the first they had of the situation of affairs. They were destined. They were great, as the wind had died away, expended. The privateers engaged, joined by two others, more. They prepared for action, but by some misfortune, the Annabella got aground so far astern of the George, that the latter expected but a feeble support from her musketry. About eleven at night, the privateers anchored close by, and hailed them to strike the British flag. The mate of the George, and every sailor on board, the captain excepted, refused to fight any longer; but every officer and private of the seventy-first regiment, who were in the ship, stood to their quarters, with ready obedience to the lieutenant colonel, until their ammunition was expended. They were then forced to yield, after a sharp combat of an hour and an half. Their killed were eight privates and major Menzies, besides seventeen wounded. The major was buried with the honours of war at Boston; and the prisoners experienced the utmost civility and good treatment. A week before the capture of these transports, the Ann, in the same service, was taken and carried into Marblehead. The number of Highlanders taken amounted to 267 privates, and 48 officers, besides lieutenant colonel Archibald Campbell.

The bad success of the provincials in Canada, was somewhat compensated by what happened in the southern colonies.—We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on board a man of war. Notwithstanding this, he did not despair

reducing it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied to the *Regulators*, a daring set of men, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their numbers and known skill in the use of fire arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and a colonel Macdonald was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c. and collected some forces, expecting to be soon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Britain to act against the southern colonies. The Americans, sensible of their danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time that they diligently exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. Their present force was commanded by a general Moore, whose numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason the latter summoned him to join the king's stand-

*Feb. 15.* and under pain of being treated as a rebel.

But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends; but if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment. He reminded them of their ungrateful behaviour to the colony, and the general himself of an oath he and some of his officers had taken a short time before, that they only came to see their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public matters; upon which declaration alone they were allowed to enter the country; whilst on the other hand he and his officers were engaged in the most honourable and glorious cause in the world—the defence of the liberties of their country.

In a few days general Moore found himself at the head of 8000 men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to 2000, and they were destitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy whilst they had the advantage of numbers. They were now therefore obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of personal valour: by dint of which they effected a retreat for near 80 miles to Moore's Creek, within 15 miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by govern-

Martin, lord William Campbell, and general Clinch who had lately arrived with a considerable detachment whom they were to introduce into the heart of the country; by which means they hoped that all the settlers would be united in the royal cause, the Indians be brought forward, and the loyalists meet with encouragement to show themselves. But Moore with his army pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek itself, though a considerable body of the Americans, under the command of colonel Caswell, with fortifications well planted with cannon, was posted on the other side. On attempting the creek however it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged therefore to cross over a weak bridge, which the provincials had not time to demolish entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder in order to render them slippery, made the passage so difficult, that the royalists could not attempt it. In

*Feb 27.* situation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore with his superior army, and totally defeated, with the loss of their general and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men, and the victory on the part of the provincials was every way complete.

Thus was the power of the provincials established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia; where lord Dunmore, who long continued an useless predatory war, was at length driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on board were distressed to the greatest degree by confinement in small vessels. Towards the end of the season, and the numbers crowded together produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, reserving only about 50 for themselves in which they bid a final adieu to Virginia.

*July.* some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West Indies. Lord Dunmore, after he quitted Virginia, joined the British forces in the West Indies, and arrived with sir Peter Parker off Staten Island.

In South Carolina the provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charleston, had been sent out in December 1775; but by reason of unfavourable weather, did not reach Cape Fear in March.

*May.* Carolina, till the month of May 1776: and it met with farther obstacles till the end

de.  
en  
oy  
of  
g-  
at  
s  
-

June.

The Americans were commanded by general Cornwallis, and brigadi In the beginning of June he anchored off Charleston bay who had been the constant antagonist since he left Boston : when the British at New York, such was the activity of the provincials, headed by general no place open to attack : on his arrival found every thing in the same state : Cape Fear, in North Carolina, the present in the same state of preparation his arrival at Charleston, the same of himself, seemingly as well prepared as ever.

The fleet had some difficulty in passing the bar, being obliged to take out the guns of the largest ships. which were, notwithstanding, times in danger of sticking fast. There was a strong fort on Sullivan's Island, from Charleston ; which, though not considered, was very strong. However, the British resolved without hesitation to attack it : an attack was easy from the sea, it was to obtain a co-operation of the land forces attempted by landing them on Sullivan's Island.



the morning of that day, the bomb ketch, *June 28,* began to throw shells into Fort Sullivan. About mid-day the two 50 gun ships and three 28 gun frigates came up and began a severe attack. The three frigates were ordered to take their position between Charleston and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but through the ignorance of the British they all stuck fast: and though two of them were entangled, they were found to be totally unfit for service: the third was burnt, that she might not fall into the hands of the provincials.

The attack was therefore confined to the *Bomb Ketch*, *Experiment*, ~~the three armed vessels~~, and the *Provincials*, between whom and the fort a dreadful fight ensued. The *Bristol* suffered excessively. The *Provincials* on her cable being shot away, she was for some time entirely exposed to the fire of the batteries. The Americans poured in great quantities of red hot shot, she was twice in flames. The captain (Mr. Mordaunt) after receiving five wounds, was obliged to go on deck in order to have his arm amputated. After undergoing this operation he returned to his place, he received another wound, but still refused to quit his station: at last he received a red hot ball in his side, which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and seamen who stood on the quarter deck of the vessel, not one escaped without a wound, except Peter Parker alone; whose intrepidity and presence of mind on this occasion, was very remarkable. The engagement lasted till darkness put an end to it. The damage was done by the British, as the works of the Americans lay so low that many of the shot flew over the fortifications being composed of palm trees mixed with earth, were extremely well calculated to resist the impression of cannon. During the heat of the attack, the provincial batteries remained for some time silent, so that it was concluded that they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed from want of powder; for as soon as a supply of this necessary article was obtained, the firing was renewed as before. During this desperate engagement, it was found impossible for the land forces to give the British any assistance to the fleet. The American works were found to be much stronger than they had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unsuccessful attack, the killed and wounded on the part of the British amounted to about 200. The *Bristol* and *Experiment* were so much damaged, that it was thought they

not have been got over the bar; however, this was at last accomplished by a very great exertion of naval skill, to the surprise of the provincials, who had expected to make them both prizes. On the American side the loss was judged to have been considerable, but was reported to be only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Before morning, the ships had retired about two miles distant from the island; and in a few days more, the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York.

The Americans on this occasion justly boasted of their heroes. A serjeant, observing the flag staff shot away in the beginning of the action, jumped from one of the embrasures upon the beach, took up the flag, and fixing it upon a sponge staff, put it in its proper place in the midst of the dreadful fire already mentioned. For this distinguished act of bravery he was presented with a sword by the congress. Another, whilst exerting himself in a very distinguished manner, was cruelly shattered by a cannon ball: when about to expire, "My friends," said he, "I am dying, but don't let the cause of liberty expire with me."

The thanks of congress were given to general Lee, and also to colonels Moultrie and Thomson for their good conduct in this memorable action. In compliment to the commanding officer, the fort from that time was called Fort Moultrie.

This year also, the Americans, having so frequently made trial of their valor by land, became desirous of trying it by sea also, and of forming a navy that might in some measure be able to protect their trade, and do essential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March, commodore Hopkins was dispatched with two ships, two brigs, and a sloop to the Bahama Islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape, notwithstanding the efforts of his whole squadron.

The attempt upon the southern colonies, being the first part of the ministerial plan for 1776, being defeated, what remained to be attempted was, an invasion of the Northern provinces from Canada, and an expedition against the city of New York. The conduct of the former was given to general Burgoyne; the latter to general Howe. From the attack on New York, great advantages were expected. Its central position, it was thought, would enable the British generals to carry on the war with equal facility, either in Con-

lieut or in the southern provinces, and to quit or vary the scene of action as they pleased; whilst its maritime situation, being mostly inclosed with islands, not only promised to ensure success originally, but to afford an easy defence and protection by the ships of war. By the junction of the army from Canada with that under general Howe, it was also proposed to distress the colonies in the most effectual manner, by cutting off the communication between the northern and southern provinces; and the abundant fertility and plenty of the province of New York, seemed to render it a most eligible station for any body of troops.

Whilst the British northern army remained in Canada, general Carleton, as head of the province, took the command. After the expulsion of the Americans from the province, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as has been already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently general Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This, however, was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Lawrence, no fewer than thirty large long boats, 400 batteaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of 30 tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward, before winter, to Albany, where the army would take up its winter quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under general Howe, when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge, allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of the inflexible, a large vessel with three masts, carrying 18 twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying 14, the other 12 six pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with

ports for the troops and baggage, and was to be served by a detachment from the artillery: the officers and soldiers appointed for this duty were also chosen out of the whole was put under the command of

To oppose this formidable armament the British had but an inconsiderable naval force under the command of general Arnold. It consisted of twelve vessels which mounted only 12 six and four pounders and fifteen vessels of inferior force. The British had no step to accomplish their designs on the frontiers of New York, until they had

of Lake Champlain. Accordingly on the 11th of October, they proceeded up the lake, and, on the 19th

October, engaged the American fleet. The inequality between the contending fleets, was lessened by an unfavourable wind, which prevented the British ship *Inflexible*, and some other vessels, from getting into action. The principal loss sustained by the Americans, was the loss of the *Confiance* and gondola. At the approach of night the action discontinued; and the vanquished effect was during the darkness of the night, by the ability of their commander. By the next day the whole fleet under general Arnold was destroyed, but the British, having a few

Americans, raised the reputation of general Arnold higher than ever. In addition to the fame of a brave soldier, he acquired that of an able sea officer." The garrison of Crown Point retired to Ticonderoga. Thither general Carleton intended to have pursued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter, appeared so many and so great, that he thought it proper to march back to Canada, and desist from any farther operations till next spring. On the part of the British, although victorious, the object of a campaign, in which 13,000 men were employed, and near a million of money expended, was rendered in a great measure abortive. Whereas, on the part of the Americans, although some men, and a few armed vessels were lost, yet time was gained, their army saved, and the frontier of the adjacent states secured from a projected invasion.

The ill success which had attended the provincial arms in Canada, did not in any degree damp the general spirit of the people. Matters had been carried to such extremities, that little hope of a reconciliation seemed to remain. The Americans were exasperated to the utmost degree by the proceedings of parliament, which placed them out of the royal protection, and engaged 16,000 foreign mercenaries in the plan of subduing them. These were hired from the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, by a treaty concluded on the 29th of February 1776. Congress began, there-

fore, about the middle of May, to put in execution the scheme with which they had been so long charged on the other side of the Atlantic.

*viz.* that of declaring the colonies independent, and separating from Britain entirely. As a proper introduction to a declaration of this kind, a circular letter or manifesto, was sent through the different colonies, in which was set forth the necessity of suppressing the authority of the crown entirely, and taking all the power of government into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the prohibitory act; the rejection of their petitions for redress of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Britain, aided by foreign troops, for their destruction. They concluded with a recommendation to those colonies, whose government was not already sufficiently well settled, to proceed to the establishment of such a form as was necessary to the internal peace of the country, and the present exigency of affairs; for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies.

This address proved universally acceptable, except in the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland; and the deputies sent to congress by the latter even left the assembly, after voting peremptorily against independence. The situation of the colonies, however, was extremely embarrassing, and the arguments on both sides, such as might have puzzled the most quick sighted politicians. On the one hand, the separation from Great Britain, even supposing that it could be easily accomplished, must be attended with many inconveniences. The protection of the great parent state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign to balance so many separate, and probably discordant commonwealths, besides many political and commercial advantages derived from the union with Britain, were self-evident. On the other hand, they considered their liberty as their greatest good, without which all other advantages could be of no value. Were they to submit to a great standing army consisting of foreigners as well as Britons, and even partly of their own slaves, what terms could they hope for? The moment they laid down their arms, they must be at the mercy of the enemy. But to what purpose did they take up these arms? If to secure their liberty, then should they lay them down without any security, such an act must be supposed an acknowledgment that their first resistance was rebellion, and the pardon offered was the only security for the future, or satisfaction for the present, they could expect. As Britain, therefore, had uniformly rejected their entreaties, and now abandoned them to plunder without remorse, except on unconditional submission, it was plainly by war alone that their object was to be gained.

Another weighty consideration was, that as long as they acknowledged the supremacy of Great Britain, their councils and generals would be equally destitute of authority, civil or military,—the war they carried on must be feeble, irregular, and unsuccessful;—orders would be given which nobody would obey, and conspiracies and mutinies formed which none could have a just power to punish or repress. Neither would any foreign power support them against the hostile attempts of Great Britain, as long as they held themselves to be her subjects. “We do not break the connexion,” said they; “it is already broken and dissolved by act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means of our preservation.”

Whilst this eventful subject occupied the public mind, several writers placed the advantages of independence, and a republican government, in various

lights. Among these, Thomas Paine, of Philadelphia, a native of England, took the lead. The style, manner, and language of the author is singular and fascinating, and well calculated to rouse the passions. He undertook to prove, in a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*, the necessity, practicability and advantages of independence. He observed that every body allowed it would probably happen at some future period; and he reasons to evidence that the moment was at hand, that no lurking affection for the sovereign might impair the measure, kingly government and hereditary succession were turned into ridicule. He like- wise brought to his aid several passages in the Old Testament, from which he inferred, that the Almighty had intended monarchy as the most proper government. The perous in motion as ten but, to be the royal better timed, to accomplish the end in view, than this performance. It was received with applause; read by almost every American; and recommended as a work replete with truth, and against which none but the partial and prejudiced could form any objections. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. It satisfied multitudes that it was their true interest immediately to cut the gordian knot by which the colonies had been bound to Great Britain, and to open their commerce as an independent people, to all the nations of the world.

These arguments, resounding from all quarters, seconded by the enmity against the mother country, which was now bred in the minds of the people, soon decided the matter. The Maryland delegates were instructed to return to congress, and act as they found most proper for the interests of their country. In Pennsylvania it had been fairly debated in their provincial assemblies, where it was carried by vast majorities that the delegates should agree to the determinations of congress: and John Dickinson, one of the delegates from that province was displaced, because he had spoken and voted against the motion for independence. made in congress by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia on the seventh of June.

On the first of July, congress resolved itself to a committee of the whole, upon the subject of independence; but neither colonies nor members being

in Congress assembled,"  
in the following words :

" WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the equal station to which the laws of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

" We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all

shown, that mankind are



"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of the districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved the legislatures frequently, for opposing, with just reasons, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused to assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public, after such dissolutions, whereby the legislatures have been dissolved, or have returned, and have refused to exercise; the state is in danger to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

...the same absolute  
"For taking away our chi  
valuable laws, and altering fi  
our governments:

"For suspending our own l  
themselves invested with pow  
cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated govern  
us out of his protection, and w

"He has plundered our se  
burnt our towns, and destroyed

"He is, at this time, trans  
foreign mercenaries to complet  
desolation and tyranny, alread  
stances of cruelty and perfidy,  
the most barbarous ages, and tota  
of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow  
tive on the high seas, to bear arms  
to become the executioners of th  
ren, or to fall themselves by their

"He has excited domestic insur  
and has endeavoured to bring on th  
frontiers the merciless Indian sav  
rule of warfare is an undistinguish  
ages, sexes and conditions.

"In every stage of  
tioned



George Wythe,  
Richard Henry Lee,  
Thomas Jefferson,  
Benjamin Harrison,  
Thomas Nelson, jun.  
Francis Lightfoot Lee,  
Carter Braxton.

GE  
Butt  
Lyn  
Geor

On the 8th of July, at twelve o'clock of independence was proclaimed in Philadelphia, amidst the greatest next day, in consequence of general at the head of each brigade of troops at New York, and every where rejoiced, and the utmost demonstration in the evening, the equestrian statue of George Washington was prostrate on the ground, and the Declaration of Independence was made was doomed to be run into by

The declaration of independence was made when no royal governor had even authority in any of the colonies; and the troops had any footing in the United States, and indeed collected on the coast for invasion, and in face of that armament step was taken. The armament on which

abolished. Some retained  
between Christians and others, with  
ty to office, but the idea of supporting one deno-  
tion at the expense of others, or of raising any one  
of Protestants to a legal preeminence, was univer-  
reprobated. The alliance between Church and  
was completely broken, and each was left to suppo-  
self independent of the other. It was sixteen mo-  
after this time, before the plan of confederation wa-  
far digested as to be ready for communication to  
states. Nor was it ratified by all the states till  
three years more had elapsed.

Many difficulties occurred in settling the rat-  
contributions from each state. The value of land  
finally fixed upon as the criterion. The represen-  
of the states was not so easily settled, but the  
states yielded the point, for the present, and ac-  
ced that each state should have an equal suffrage  
fearful of weakening their exertions against th  
mon enemy.

As a radical change of the whole system of  
constitution took place a few years after the  
tion of the war, it is neither necessary nor consis-  
the limits of this work to give any account of it  
that it answered the purpose of it  
America were young!

ed forces in Britain, and 13,000  
deckers. The whole number of  
occasion was not less than 35,  
these never were at any time bro  
ment. Such a force, however,  
peared in any part of America;  
ever exceeded by any European  
whether we consider the goodne  
abundant provision of all manner  
materials, or the excellence and m  
all kinds. It was besides support  
ous fleet, well adapted for the servi  
ships of the line, thirty frigates, b  
vessels, and a vast number of transp  
commanded by lord Howe, and the  
brother general Howe, men of spi  
experience, who had already signa  
the service of their country. Genera  
erable time before his brother arrived  
Halifax, and lay before New York  
tempting to commence hostilities ut  
joined by his brother. The Americ  
ing to custom, fortified  
June 25. the adjacent islands in a  
manner. However, gene  
suffered to land his troops, gene  
he was

that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valour."

Lord Howe next sent a letter to general Washington; but as it was directed "To George Washington, Esq." the general refused to accept of it, as not directed in the style suitable to his station. To this objection, adjutant general Patterson was sent with another letter, directed "To George Washington, &c. &c. &c." But though a very polite intimation was given to the bearer, general Washington refused the letter; nor could any explanation induce him to accept of it. The most interesting part of the conversation was that relative to the powers of the commissioners, of whom Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive: that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped general Washington would consider this visit as a step towards peace. General Washington replied, that it did not appear to him that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons; and as America had committed no crime, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights. Two days before adjutant general Patterson had the above-mentioned interview, the independence was solemnly proclaimed by the Continental Congress, as if in defiance of all the then former authority, as if in defiance of all the then former appearances: after which, the king's arms, the royal coat of arms, the elegant picture of his majesty, were destroyed. In consequence of these proceedings, the episcopal clergy shut up their churches.

The whole continental army in and near New York, at this critical period, amounted only to  
*Aug. 8.* 225 men. These were mostly new recruits, and were much scattered, some being 50 miles apart.

The decision of every thing being now by combat, both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, and hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops were collected. This, however, was not done before the middle of August; when they landed without opposition.

*Aug. 22.* position on Long Island, opposite to the tip of Staten Island, between two small towns, Flatbush and Gravesend. General Putnam, with a large number of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on the tip of the island, with a range of hills in the background. The principal pass of which was near Flatbush. Here the centre of the British army consisted of Hessians, under general de Heister, to the left wing, under general Grant, lying near Flatbush.

with the Hessians in the rear, who  
negligence, their defeat became in  
were engaged with the Hessians  
mistake, and began a retreat toward  
the passage was intercepted by the  
drove them back into the woods  
met by the Hessians; and thus two  
hours slaughtered between the two  
troops, and thus regaining their camp  
many perished; and the right wing, com-  
manded by General Grant, shared the same fate.  
complete: six brass ordnance were  
Americans lost on this fatal day, consist-  
of 1000 men. Among the prisoners were  
officers, Sullivan and Lord Sterling; 3 com-  
mandant colonels, 3 majors, 18 captains,  
and 11 ensigns, with a number of pri-  
vates slain, a regiment, consisting of young  
fortune and family in Maryland, was al-  
together in pieces, and the survivors not one escaped  
wound. The British accounts stated the killed,  
wounded, and prisoners, at 3000.  
On the part of the British, this victory  
gained; their loss in killed and wounded  
being 450 men, of whom the wounded  
formed the fifth part. The British  
victory.



ment, general Washington passed and is said to have burst into a paroxysm of grief, when he saw the evacuation which involved some of the works on the island. These, regular siege, were strong en main. The British general, however, by a feint, broke ground in front of the British redoubt.

A council of war being called to decide whether to evacuate the island.

Aug. 29. The British, suddenly concealed, they knew not what they were doing, but imagined it was to attack the artillery, tents, baggage and stores conveyed to the city.

Aug. 30. The River, where it is no less than thirteen miles long, the knowledge of the British, though Providence seems to have ordered so as to second the skill and command of the commander. The wind, which was blowing, the troops getting over at the appointed time, shifted to their wishes. Toward the thick fog came on, which is usual at this time of the year, which hovered over the island, concealing the Americans, and their retreat without interruption began to dawn some time. By a mistake of one of the officers, the American lines were moved three quarters of an hour, before the British, working parties could be discovered in the fog, knew nothing of the retreat, were repossessed until six o'clock. Every thing except the heavy baggage was left. General Washington, though he did not leave the island until general Howe, with the rear guard, left the lines, after the lines were finally abandoned, and the British were seen to be in possession of the American works.

This victory, though coming so decisive as the capture of the city, Howe, supposing that it would lead to the evacuation of the city into some other place.

ty than that which they had publickly  
they were extremely desirous of reate  
country upon equitable conditions, th  
a committee of their body to wait up  
what proposals he had to make.

This produced a new conference,  
appointed by congress was composed  
Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. The  
lately received by his Lordship; bu  
proved as fruitless as before indepen  
declared; and the final answer of t  
that they were extremely willing to en  
ty with Great Britain that might con  
of both nations, but that they would  
other character than that of independ  
positive declaration instantly put an  
of reconciliation; and it was resolved  
war with the utmost vigour.

Before hostilities had commenced  
the congress attempted to detach the  
had come with the royal troops, from th  
Britannic majesty. The following resol  
14th of August, was adopted and circulat  
on whom it was intended to operate  
that these states will receive all s  
who shall leave the armies of his Britan  
America, and shall

tranquillity; endeavouring in this manner to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain from those who were the friends of independence.

After the affair of Long Island the American army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies, and their example infected the regular regiments. Matters are thus described by general Mercer, who commanded the flying camp, in a letter dated September the 4th. "General Washington has not, so far as I have seen, 5000 men to be depended on for the service of a campaign; and I have not 1000. Both our armies are composed of raw militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms; poorly armed, and still worse disciplined. These are not a match for, were their numbers equal to, veteran troops, well fitted, and urged on by able officers. Numbers and discipline must at last prevail. Giving soldiers, or even the lower orders of mankind, the choice of officers, will forever mar the discipline of armies."

General Washington having called a council of war, it was determined to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New York. A middle line between abandoning and defending it was, however, adopted for a short time. The public stores were moved to Dobbs's ferry, about 26 miles from the city. 12,000 men were ordered to the northern extremity of New York Island, and 4,500 were left in the city. Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked, for this reason works were erected for the defence of a variety of places, as well as of New-York; and these were occupied by the remainder of the troops. They had also strongly fortified a pass called *King's Bridge*, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune.

"The same short sighted politicians, says Dr. Ramsay, who had before censured general Washington, for his cautious conduct, in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed their clamours against him for adopting this evacuating and retreating system. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that those measures were best calculated for securing the independence of America, he for the good of his country, voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a temporary cloud."

General Howe, having prepared every thing for descent on New York Island, began to

*Sept. 15.* his men, under cover of ships of  
twelve, Kears, Bay and Turtle 1

and the British in another. As soon as general Washington heard the firing of the men of war, he rode with all dispatch towards the lines; but to his great mortification, he found that the troops, on the first appearance of danger, ran off in the utmost precipitation; and those ordered to support them, Parsons' and Fellows' brigade, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. His attempts to stop them were fruitless, though he drew his sword, threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.

On the appearance of a small part of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder was increased, and they ran off without firing a single shot, and left the general in a hazardous situation, so that his attendants, to extricate him out of it, caught the bridle of his horse, and gave him a different direction.

Three large ships were stationed in the North River, opposite to those in East River; which kept up a constant cannonading with grape and langrage shot, quite across the island, which, though 15 miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The Hessians, upon their landing, seized and secured in a neighbouring building as enemies, some persons who had been placed there to serve as guides, which for a while subjected them to a difficulty.

When the British were completely landed, they marched on towards the King's Bridge road. The American brigades, that had fled upon the enemy's approaching the lines, stopped not till met by colonel Glover's and five other brigades, who were hastening down to them. Upon the junction, the whole marched forward and took post on some heights, when suddenly about 8000 of the enemy appeared on the next height, and halted. General Washington at first consented, that his troops should march forward, and give them battle; but, on a second consideration, he gave counter orders, as he could not have any dependence on the militia and the flying camp, which composed half the number then present. When the Americans retired, and no prospect of action remained, the British generals repaired to the house of Mr. Robert Murray, a gentleman of the Quaker persuasion. The lady of the house entertained them most civilly and regaled them with some cakes and wine. They were well pleased with the entertainment, and stayed there rather more than two hours; governor Tryon, seasoning the repast, at times, by joking Mrs. Murray about her American friends, for she was known to be a steady advocate for the liberties of the country. In the meantime the Hessians and the British, except a strong co-

which had marched to take possession of the city, remained upon their arms inactive; which gave general Putnam the opportunity of escaping with about 3500 men, including the guards, who had been left to shift for themselves, when colonel Glover had been ordered away from New York. Putnam, in order to avoid meeting any troops that might be advancing upon the direct road to the city, went by the road which lies along side the North River, and marched to the end, where it turns off short to the right, and leads on to another and narrower, towards Blooming dale. By this last road he secured his retreat; although nothing could have been easier than to have prevented his getting into it. A good body of troops, with a couple of field pieces, could have taken such a position, in about twenty minutes or less, as would have certainly cut off Putnam's retreat. On this occasion it was said, humourously, that "Mrs. Murray saved the American army." On the day that general Howe's forces landed and the following one, they took 354 privates and 17 officers prisoners.

The British and provincial armies were not now above two miles distant from each other. The former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, being masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps, were enabled to defend themselves against an army much more numerous than their own, and their passage to the continent was secured by the possession of King's Bridge, which was strongly fortified.

On the day after the shameful flight of part of the American army, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and highlanders, commanded by brigadier Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of lieutenant colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, and major Leitch of Virginia. The colonel was killed and the major badly wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and being supplied with fresh troops, fairly beat the enemy from the field. Most of these were the same men who had disgraced themselves the day before, by running away. Struck with a sense of shame, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander in chief to give them an opportunity to retrieve their honour. In this manner the general employed his troops in continual skirmishes, in order *to inure them to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible; by means of which they recovered their spirits, and*

As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige general Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The possession of New York had been less beneficial than was expected. A few days after it was evacuated

Sept. 21. ed by the Americans, a dreadful fire broke out, which consumed about a thousand houses; and had it not been for the active exertions of the sailors and soldiery, the whole town might have been consumed, the wind being high, and the weather remarkably dry. Some British writers attribute this calamity to the Americans, who, say they, having been forced to abandon the city, formed the atrocious design of setting it on fire, to render it of as little use to the captors as possible: That the fire broke out in several places at once, and some of the incendiaries being detected in the act, were thrown headlong into the flames, or killed on the spot by the soldiers; but no mention is made of these circumstances, in the account of this conflagration, by Dr. Gordon or Dr. Ramsay. The former relates that "the fire broke out at a dram shop, close in with the water side, on Whitehall slip, about one o'clock in the morning. The reports spread of its breaking out in several places at the same time, were erroneous." And the latter observes, that this fire was "most probably occasioned by the disorderly conduct of some British sailors, who had been permitted to regale themselves on shore."

General Howe, in order to cut off general Washington's communication with the eastern states, left lord Percy, with a sufficient force to garrison New York, and embarking his army in flat-bottomed boats, passed through Hell Gate, and landed on Frog's Neck, in West Chester county. The provincial army, fit for duty, present and on command, at different posts, militia included, now amounted to about 19,000 men. Two days after the movement of the royal army, general Lee arrived from Charleston, and at a council of war, pressed the necessity of evacuating Fort Washington, and the whole island of New York. General Green opposed the evacuation of Fort Washington, and Fort Lee opposite to it, on the Jersey shore, as they would divert a large body of the enemy from joining their main force, and would likewise cover the transportation of provisions and stores up the North River, for the service of the American troops. His opinion prevailed. New York island was evacuated, but garrisons were left in Fort Washington and Fort

**Lee :** three thousand men being assigned to the defence of the former.

General Howe having received a supply of provisions, after a halt of six

Oct. 18. near to New Rochelle, situated which separates Long Island

ment. The troops on their march sustained losses by a party of Americans, who posted behind a wall. After this, receiving reinforcements, they made such movement to distress the provincials very much off their convoys of provisions from Cothuis force them to an engagement. The general Washington determined at all events well knowing that delay was, in the end, his friend. He therefore extended his forces into a position to the west of the enemy making the river Bronx between the two armies, River in his Rear. Here again the provincials employed in small skirmishes with the British until at last the latter moved in two columns to the position with the Bronx in front, upon which the Americans assembled their main force.

O.C. 25. Plains behind intrenchments. The British crossed the Brum two posts, and a broken and scattered ensued, in which some hundreds fell; but a decisive took place. The British army their arms during the night, with an attacking the provincial camp next mo

It was observed in the morning that Livingston had drawn back his encampment, and greatly strengthened the lines by adding the British general, therefore, deferred attack till the arrival of more troops, which came from New York. Upon the arrival of the British made dispositions in the evening the provincials early on the last of an extreme wet night and morning previous from being carried into execution. Livingston having gained intelligence of this deserter, quitted his camp on the night of November, and took higher ground towards the district. One of the provincial colonels set fire to the town of White Plains, as houses and forage near the lines, unknown without orders.

General Howe seeing that the Americans be enticed to an engagement of the nature of the country did not being forced to it, determined

gage and side arms. The loss of the  
of killed and wounded, was about 1  
this, Lord Cornwallis, with a consid-  
ed over to attack Fort Lee, situated  
of North River. The garrison, which  
men, was saved by an immediate evi-  
the loss of their artillery and stores.

General Washington retreated to New  
whole force consisted of no more than  
appears he now considered the cause  
danger; and said to colonel Reed, "I  
to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will  
nians support us?" The colonel an-  
lower counties are subdued, and give  
counties will do the same." Upon which  
said, passing his hand over his throat,  
not feel as though it was made for a li-  
retire to Augusta county in Virginia.  
be obliged to repair to us for safety; and  
what we can do in carrying on a predi-  
if overpowered, we must cross the At-  
tains." The general, after tarrying near  
being molested, obtained information  
Nov. 23. Cornwallis was in pursuit of  
fore marched to Brunswick, where  
the very morning that his lordship and  
lordship's van advanced.



1776]

[1776

Washington  
but on  
Jersey and  
him would  
to general  
le, or your  
December,  
ton, which  
pursuit was  
ish reached  
ard of gen-  
colonel Hen-  
ve o'clock at  
to secure all  
division halted  
ed from cross-  
tended. Had  
ia, as he pro-  
have been fatal  
ton, when he  
me of their ser-  
anner, that the

congr  
the  
ial  
C  
pe  
re  
cc  
le  
p  
e

open to the in-  
fully were these  
that its

in the neighbourhood with a snuff  
horse, to observe the motions of

The colonel conducted

*Dec. 13.* address and activity,  
carry off the general,

greatly exulted on the capture of  
boasted they had taken the American  
was the opinion they had of the  
military skill among the Americans  
ence of their officers. The loss  
much regretted, the more especially  
rior quality to any prisoner in the  
colonists, and could not therefore  
field officers were offered in exchange  
fused; and the congress were high  
port that he was to be treated as  
been a half pay officer in the British  
mencement of the war. In consequence  
issued a proclamation, threatening  
prisoners in their possession, who  
should be inflicted on any of those

*Jan. 6.* and especially that their  
regulated by the treatment

A copy of the above resolution  
the council of Massachusetts Bay  
sired to detain

was appropriate to the use of the colonel. The attendance of a single servant on his person was denied him, and every visit from a friend positively refused. When he had transmitted an account of these and other matters to general sir William Howe, on the 14th of February, and the same had been communicated to general Washington, a letter was directly written on the 28th in which the general says, "You will observe that the same treatment is to be shown to the Hessian officers, that general Howe confined to moderate accommodations were upon me. I would wish, should be immediate, present situation, and put into a house where we comfortably." The British had in their power subject to their call, near 300 provincial officers, whilst the Americans had not more than 50 belonging to the British. The resolve, therefore, for putting into close confinement colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, in order to retaliate Lee's treatment, seemed injurious in every point of view, and to have been entered into without due attention to the consequences."

The command of the troops after Lee's capture, fell to general Sullivan; who soon after crossed the Delaware, and joined general Washington. The general, whilst retreating before lord Cornwallis, had sent general Mifflin to Philadelphia to raise the Pennsylvania militia. The representations of congress, and the animated addresses of general Mifflin to his fellow citizens, had the desired effect, and the yeomanry of the back counties, as well as those of the lower, readily came forward in support of the common cause.

During the royal successes in the Jerseys, general Clinton, with four brigades of British and Hessian troops, with a squadron of men of war under sir Peter Parker, was sent to attempt Rhode Island. It was taken without the loss of a man: the Americans, being incapable of making effectual resistance, so that on the day when general Washington crossed the Delaware, the British took possession of the island, and at the same time blocked up commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

In the mean time, congress proceeded with the indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and to their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, and the continuance of the war. The for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of four divisions; of which each province was

...five per cent. for paym  
ed States became surety. The  
missioners to the cou  
for assistance, whose  
hereafter mentioned.

*Dec. 10.* order to animate the people to  
declaration was published, in wh  
necessity there was for taking prop  
success in their cause : they endea  
much as possible the misfortunes  
happened ; and represented the tri  
sent distress to be the short term of t  
This declaration, together with t  
ger of Philadelphia, determined the  
themselves to the utmost in order to  
Washington's army. They soon re  
courage, however, by an explo  
against the Hessians. As the royal a  
different cantonments for a great way  
ington, perceiving the imminent dang  
Philadelphia was exposed, resolved to ma  
on those divisions of the enemy which  
city. These happened to be the Hessi  
*Dec. 25.* three divisions, the last only 2  
from Philadelphia. On the 2  
ber, having collected as com  
as he could, he set out  
body of the

manded them, did all that could be expected from brave and experienced officer ; but every thing was such confusion, that no efforts of valour or skill could now retrieve matters. The colonel himself was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, the artillery seized, consisting of six pieces of brass cannon and 23 Hessian officers, and 886 of the same nation taken prisoners. About 600 only escaped by the road leading to Bordentown. After this gallant exploit, general Washington again returned into Pennsylvania.

This action, though seemingly of no very decisive nature, was sufficient at that time to turn the fortune war in favor of America. It tended greatly to lessen the apprehensions which the provincials had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them. It likewise contributed more to the formation of a new provincial army, than either the authority, commands, or exhortations of congress.

Neither force, distress, artifice, or persuasion, had yet influenced congress to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace, by returning to the condition of British subjects. However, affairs appeared so desperate about this time, that some members, distrustful of their ability to resist the power of Great Britain, proposed to authorise their commissioners at the court of France to transfer to that country the same monopoly of their trade, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed. But upon mature consideration, every proposal of concession was rejected. The more enlightened members observed, that " Though the friendship of small states might be purchased, that of France could not." It was therefore supposed, that the only measure, likely to induce France to an interference, would be an adherence to their former resolution of independence, and proffered freedom of trade to all nations. This they resolved to do, trusting the event to Providence, and risking all consequences. Copies of their resolutions to this effect were sent to the principal courts of Europe. These dispatches fell into the hands of the British, who made no other use of them than publishing them to the world ; which was the very thing congress wished for.

On the 27th of December, the congress invested general Washington with almost dictatorial power throughout the United States, for a limited term of six months, unless sooner determined by their authority. He was empowered to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier general—to reform and new model the

arrangements, in such a manner as he judged best for public service—to raise sixteen battalions of infantry; 3000 light horse; three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, in addition to those already raised by congress—to establish their pay—to form magazines—to take whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants would not sell it, on a reasonable price for the same—to enforce the acceptance of continental currency—to present the names of the disaffected, together with the witnesses to prove them.

Reinforcements came in from several quarters to general Washington, so that he was soon in a condition to pass the Delaware, and take up his quarters at Trenton, where he was emboldened to maintain his station, notwithstanding the accounts that were received of the enemy's rapid advance towards him. Cornwallis, accordingly, made his appearance in force; and, on the evening of his arrival, the city of Trenton contained the two hostile armies, separated only by a small creek, which was fordable in many places. This was, indeed, the crisis of the American revolution; and had his lordship made an immediate attack, in pursuance of what is reported to have been the advice of sir William Erskine, general Washington's defeat seems to have been inevitable: but a delay turned the fate of the war, and produced surprise, the magnitude and glory of which, cannot be equalled by its success. General Washington

having called a council of war, stated the calamitous situation to which his army was reduced; and having heard the various opinions of his officers, finally proposed a circuitous march to Princeton, as the means of avoiding, at once, the imputation of a retreat, and the danger of a battle, with an army so inferior, and in a situation so ineligible. The plan was unanimously approved; and, as soon as it was dark, the necessary measures were taken for executing it. A line of fires was kindled, which served to give light to the Americans, whilst it obscured the observation of the enemy: and by a providential interposition, the weather, which had been some time past warm, moist, and foggy, suddenly changed to a hard frost; and, in a moment, as it were, dried the road, which had been deep and heavy, firm and smooth as a pavement. At break of day, general Washington arriving near Princeton, had completely surprised the British, had not been discovered, which was on their way to Trenton, deserted their camps when they were about two miles distant, and

the British, and was critical. General Washington placed himself between his own men, and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. Americans, encouraged by his example, and exertions, made a stand, and returned the British fire general, though between both parties, was providently uninjured by either. A party of the British fled the college and were there attacked with field pieces which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party had taken refuge in the college, after receiving discharges from the American field pieces, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In the course of the engagement, sixty of the British were killed, and a greater number wounded, and about half of them were taken prisoners. The rest made escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, and by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few, but colonels Haslet and Potter, and Neal of the artillery, were among the slain. Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth, but from principle and affection had engaged himself in the service of his adopted country, with a view to the welfare of the native sons. In private

long as to gain time to themselves to move off, in good order, to Plukemin.

Affairs now assumed a different aspect. Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to return from the Delaware, to the defence of the magazines at Brunswick. The provincials still avoided any decisive action; but, in a few days over-ran both the Jerseys and became masters of the coast opposite Staten Island, at the same time that their principal posts were chosen with such judgment, that it never was found practicable to dislodge them. The royal army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, both holding communication by sea with New York. In these the army under Lord Cornwallis continued during the whole winter very much straitened, the troops undergoing the hardships of a severe and incessant duty, whilst their numbers were thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, productive of little advantage on either side, farther than inuring the Americans to military service, and weakening the royal army, whose numbers could not be replaced with the same ease as the provincials.

The bad effects of the late disorderly conduct of the royal army were now most seriously felt. The soldiers, particularly the Hessians, had given full scope to the selfish and ferocious passions of human nature. The inhabitants were cruelly plundered, and in particular instances rapes and murders were committed. Such, in all ages, has been the complexion of the bulk of armies, that immediate and severe punishments are indispensibly necessary to keep them from flagrant enormities. But it is certain that these culprits, in most instances, eluded punishment; either from the relaxation of discipline, or the want of due proof to lead to conviction. The whole province now joined as one man, to revenge their former injuries. Every load of forage and every article of provision which did not come from New York, was purchased at the price of blood. So hostile was the province now become, that such as were incapable of bearing arms acted as spies, and watched continually for those who bore them. Thus the British were constrained to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors. The character of general Washington was exalted to the highest pitch among his countrymen, and in Europe he was held in such estimation, as to be styled the American Fabius, from the famous Roman general of that name, who defended his country against Hannibal with success.



For the cause of the decline of the British affairs, no fault was ever alleged, with the smallest show of reason, on the part of the generals or the troops they commanded, except the disorderly conduct of the soldiers already mentioned; and which, from the employment of the Hessians in the service originally, seemed to be altogether unavoidable. The severity and inhumanity exercised towards the American prisoners in New York, operated powerfully against the royal cause. Gen. Gates was heard to say "Had general Howe seen to it, that the prisoners, and Jersey inhabitants, when subdued, had been treated with as much humanity and kindness as general Carleton exercised towards his prisoners, it would have been all over with the Americans."

Many other causes, however, concurred to retard the progress of their arms, during the whole course of the war. Among these the principal may be supposed to arise from the vast extent of the American continent, with its uncommon division into large tracts of territory, some cultivated, and others in a state of nature; the great length of sea coast in its front, and the immense wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording shelter to the provincials in all possible circumstances; the numberless impregnable posts, and natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, lakes, and marshes. Added to these, the British found, to their cost, the unanimity of the colonies, and the judicious application of their strength, by suiting the defence of the country, to the nature, genius and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country itself; thereby rendering pitched battles useless, and confining the operations of war entirely to the defence of posts, making surprises, and fighting skirmishes. Add to this also, that the people were unfettered by strong cities; so that the reduction of the capital of a province had little or no effect upon the rest; and the army could retain no more territory than that which it immediately occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

The British likewise found the unanimity of the colonies, in the fidelity of their adversaries to one another. They very seldom had true information of the situation of affairs either in the American camps or councils. And perhaps this was not one of the least causes of frequent failure of their enterprises. Very few instances occurred, especially in the first years of the war, of the provincial soldiers deserting to the British, who deserted, generally went to their own ho

elsewhere into the country ; whereas, on the other hand, numbers deserted to the provincials, and carried with them such intelligence as procured them a favorable reception.

During the course of this campaign, attempts were made to stir up the Indians to make an attack on the back parts of the southern colonies. They were now informed, that a British force was to land in West Florida ; and after penetrating through the countries of the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee Indians, where they expected to be joined by the warriors of all these nations, were to attack the Carolinas and Virginia ; whilst another formidable armament, both of sea and land forces, was to make a powerful impression on the coasts of these provinces. Circular letters to the same purpose were distributed by a Mr. Stewart, principal agent for Indian affairs, among the back settlers, requiring them to repair to the royal standard as soon as it should be erected in the country of the Cherokees, setting forth the plan of operations, and demanding subscription to a written declaration of their allegiance, that they might be distinguished from the enemies to the royal cause.

With this proposal, the natural avarice, levity of temper and natural disposition of the Indians, induced them to comply. Even the Six Nations, who had formerly agreed to the observance of a strict neutrality, now joined the general confederacy, and committed some acts of hostility, which, however, were afterwards disowned by their chiefs. The Creeks began the war in the southern parts with all that violence and barbarity which distinguishes American savages ; but finding themselves not supported as had been promised, they suddenly stopped short, excused themselves as well as they could to the congress, and refused to assist the Cherokees, who applied to them for that purpose. The latter were then left to carry on the war alone, which they did for a short time with the utmost fury and barbarity. The perpetrators were, however, soon checked, and their cruelties fully retaliated. The militia of the adjacent provinces, assembled, marched into the country of the Cherokees, and not only defeated them in every encounter, but demolished their towns, destroyed their corn, and killed such numbers, that the nation being nearly exterminated, the wretched survivors were glad to accept a peace upon any terms the victors chose to prescribe ; none of the neighbouring nations daring to interpose in their behalf.

Thus ended, at present, all hopes from the assistance of the Indians. The effects of this expedition w

## HISTORY OF THE

eddingly prejudicial to the royal cause, as it not only excited the utmost rancour of the Americans who revolted, but even the well affected to the British government themselves. Such as had on this occasion laboured for the cause of Britain, not only to a man expressed their abhorrence of such cruel measures, but as of their chief leaders are said to have avowed a repudiation of their principles upon that very account.

76. Whilst these transactions were going forward in America, the people of Britain remained in a state of torpid indifference, expecting daily to hear of the submission of the colonies, from the splendid accounts of conquest exhibited in the newspapers, and the idea of the extreme imbecility of the Americans, which had been so industriously propagated and kept up. The high language of authority, dignity and supremacy, which had filled the mouths of many for some years, fed the vanity of those who could not easily define, or who perhaps had never fully considered, the extent of the terms, or of the consequences which they were capable of producing; and the flattering idea of lessening the national burdens by an American revenue, whilst it was fitted to the comprehension of the meanest capacity, was not less effective in its operation upon those of a superior class and order. To the powerful principles of national pride and avarice, was added a laudable disposition to support those national rights which were supposed to be invaded, and a proper indignation and resentment to that ingratitude and insolence which were charged upon the Americans, and to which only the present troubles were attributed, by those who were most active in fomenting the principles of hostility, which at that time prevailed, far more than they had done at the beginning of this contest.

In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at, if a majority of the people gave at least a kind of tacit approbation to the war; but as it was not attended with national antipathy or rivalry, established enmity or even a present competition for glory, they did not feel themselves so much interested in its success, or together so anxious about its consequence, as they would in those of another nature. On the other hand, that great body of the people, who had at times reprobated the measures which led to the present troubles, and who considered them as not less dangerous to the constitution than ruinous to the power and glory of the nation, could not be supposed sanguine in their wishes for a success which they dreaded as more fatal consequences than any loss or defeat.

great  
fect  
deg  
and  
we  
co  
di  
of  
n  
t

distance of the seat of war, also rendered its effects interesting. For distance produces in some the effect of time with respect to sensibility ; the slaughter, cruelties, and calamities, which wring the heart, if they happened in the next , are slightly felt at three or four thousand miles . The distance also prevented all apprehension of immediate danger ; the expenses of the contest were sensibly felt ; and the bulk of mankind never of remote consequences. For when, at length, American privateers not only scoured the Atlantic but spreading their depredations through the Indian seas, brought alarm to the coast of Britain ; the destruction which befel the homeward bound laden West India fleets, poured equal ruin upon the waters in the islands and the merchants at home ; an account of the failure of some capital houses was the news of every morning ; even in that case of public loss and private distress, an unusual tranquillity prevailed, and the same tranquil countenance and careless unconcern was preserved, by those who were not partaken of the calamity. A circumstance is not sufficiently accounted for, even from the numbers who thought themselves officially, or by duty or principle bound to give countenance to it, nor the great number of those who profited by its continuance.

Towards the end of the year 1776, the French and British began to show a strong attachment to the cause. The continental privateers appeared in numbers in their ports, and the prizes they carried were sold openly, and without disguise. The British court did not think it prudent at that time to resort to extremities with the house of Bourbon ; therefore, only made remonstrances ; the only effect of these was, that sales were made less openly. In the West Indies, however, the depredations were carried on to a much greater extent than in Europe, and were openly patronized by all the French colonies. French ships took out American commissions ; with a few, or sometimes even no American sail-board, made war on the British trade with impunity. Letters of marque and reprisal were not granted against the inhabitants of the colonies until the middle of the year 1777 ; but the British ships of war took a vast number of prizes on their part, though this was far from being able to balance the value of the prizes taken by the Americans ; which during the year 1776, alone, amounted to more than a million ster-

## HISTORY OF THE

Besides the direct loss by captures, the British trade suffered otherwise by the prodigious rise of insurance; at upon the West Indies now rising to no less than 10 per cent. The increasing armaments of France and Spain also threatened an approaching war with these powers; so that towards the end of October, 1776, the king issued a proclamation for raising the bounty to seamen, who enlisted, to £5 per man. Sixteen additional ships of the line were also suddenly put into commission; and another proclamation was issued, recalling all seamen who were in any foreign service. This was quickly followed by two others; the one laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions from Great Britain and Ireland, the other for the observation of a general fast.

The idea of being attacked by the combined powers of France and Spain, whilst engaged in a contest with the colonies, began at last to awaken the fears of the people. Suspicions of plots and treasons occurred; and these were increased to a great degree by the attempts of an enthusiastic miscreant, known by the name of *John the Painter*, but whose real name was *James Aiken*. This man was a native of Edinburgh and bred a painter. Possessing an extraordinary spirit of rambling, with a strong propensity to vice, he had passed in the course of a few years through a variety of those scenes and adventures which attend the most profligate and abandoned state of a vagabond life.

Among his other exploits he had passed through several marching regiments of foot, from each of which he deserted as soon as opportunity served, after receiving the bounty money. In his various peregrinations through the different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty rapes, and worked at his trade, as occasion and villany prompted, or fear or necessity operated last he passed over to America, where he remained two or three years. His being of a melancholy nature, which neither sought for pleasure, as it could not be admitted of partners in so long a time, nor much to his preservation for so long a time, justice of those laws which he was continually serving equally to throw in utter darkness parts of his life, which he did not himself think or necessary to communicate. His transactions in America are accordingly unknown, any farther than that he traversed, and worked at his trade of the colonies.

As his pilgrimage on the continent, beginning and during the progress of the

by setting fire to the royal dock yard, the principal trading cities and towns. In the prosecution of this atrocious plan, he traversed a great part of the kingdom, to serve the state of the several dockyards, which they were guarded, which he was less as could be wished. Having procured the intelligence he desired, his next care was to set on fire the works, machines, and combustibles, in the execution of his purpose; and had it not been for the want of the proper mode of applying these machines, it is probable that the kingdom of Britain might have been irretrievably ruined.

One of these machines, which exploded of its own accord, was found in the harbor of London, which it had failed to set on fire; but the flames were soon communicated to the other magazine.

His next attempt was at Bristol, where he was two or three times in his efforts to destroy the shipping, he at last determined on their destruction by setting fire to the next the quay. In this he was successful.

Six or seven warehouses were consumed, and the shipping remained safe.

crimes was brought forward, that he had seen Mr. Silas Deane, who had given him some money; had been employed to set fire to the dock yards at Portsmouth, Plymouth &c. as the best means of distressing Great Britain, and had promised to reward him according to the service he should do to the American cause. He stated that Mr. Deane, as an earnest of what should be done, had given him a recommendation to and bills of exchange on a merchant in London to the amount of £300, which, however, he had found it necessary to burn to prevent a discovery; and that in consequence of this engagement, he procured a pass from the French.

On his trial at Portsmouth, notwithstanding the weight which the appearance and evidence of his previous friends against him must have given, he behaved with the same boldness and address he had hitherto manifested—made a good defence—shewed observation on the nature of the evidence, and the base witness—and received sentence of death with indifference. He was afterwards executed at the mouth dock gate, and then hung in chains as a condemnation, and before being taken away for execution, he denied his having recommended any such plan, and burning the same. It was while he was in Hampshire, that he conceived the idea of the attack on the French fleet at the mouth of the river.

created a rancour and animosity against the Americans, which the common operations of war had not hitherto engendered.

—0000—

#### CHAP. IX.

*Loyalists in New York embodied—Americans fail in their attempt on Fort Independence—Orders issued by the American general against plundering—Low state of the American army unknown to the British—Supplies of Arms rise from France—Stores at Peek's Kill destroyed—Magazines destroyed at Danbury—General Wooster led—Americans invade Long Island under colonel Mifflin—General Howe takes the Field—The Militia oppose him from all quarters—Fails in his attempt to bring General Washington to action—Retires to Amboy—Turns and advances upon the Americans—Skirmishes—Lord Cornwallis defeated—General Washington returns to his Long Camp—Royal army prepare for the grand Expedition—General Prescott carried off from Long Island—Fleet and Army leave Sandy Hook.*

General William Howe, now perceived that the army commanded, however powerful in the field, was far from being sufficient to effect the conquest of such an extensive and difficult country, or even to keep possession of what he had gained, he resolved to strengthen it by every possible method. For this purpose, he collected as many of the refugees as could be induced to enlist into a body. Over these he appointed officers, chosen from among themselves, who their attachment to the royal cause, had been obliged to abandon their properties, or who lived under his protection in New York Island; governor Tryon being then their commander.

A commission of brigadier general had been conferred on Mr. Oliver Delancy, a loyalist of great interest in New-York, and he was authorized to raise three regiments. Every effort was made to raise the men, within and without the British lines, and also among the American prisoners; but with all his exertions, only 597 were procured. Mr. Courtlandt Skinner, a loyalist well known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorized to raise five battalions; but all that he could raise by the middle of November, amounted only to 517; by degrees, however, these were afterwards augmented considerably. These levied forces were to be stationed in New York and the adjacent islands, in order to give a freer scope to the grand army; and allow it to ex-



## HISTORY OF THE

length to effect that for which it was originated; whilst the vast numbers of large ships every where intersected the country, laid it to naval power, to which the Americans had no oppose, and by which they were all along igly distressed.

all these advantages, however, it was yet found to effect any great or permanent conquest. causes formerly mentioned against the royal army, and to militate effectually against the royal power, or any number of men which Britain could be supposed to bring into the field. The utmost that could be done, therefore, was to carry on a kind of prostory war, and this, however it might distress particular places, could never contribute any thing effectual to the subjugation of the country.

The provincials formed a plan, about the end of January, for taking Fort Independence, near King's Bridge, and by so doing to obtain a passage into New York Island. About 4000 militia of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York States, in four divisions, under generals Heath, Wooster, Parsons, and Lincoln, were destined for the service. General Heath, being the chief command, summoned the enemy to surrender, with threats in case of non-compliance. Nine days after the siege had commenced, the enemy, being reinforced, made a sally, but were repulsed. Soon after the besiegers retired, upon a report that some ships had gone up the North River. General Heath was much censured for his conduct in this expedition, many of those who accompanied him. His summons as he did not fulfil his threats, subjected the arm the ridicule of their enemies, and not less from the much from the weather. Many of them afterwards of the expedition. Many of them afterwards of the North River, and proceeded to Morristown, general Washington wintered with his small army.

About the time this fruitless expedition commenced plundering had become so prevalent among the can troops, that the commander in chief had issued in general orders.—The general prohibits the militia and continental troops, in the most terms, the infamous practices of plundering itants, under the specious pretence of their It is our business to give protection and poor distressed inhabitants, not to multiply their calamities. After this order, and plundering the inhabitants under the

ing Tories, may expect to be punished in the severest manner. The adjutant general to furnish the commanding officer of each division with a copy of these orders, who is to circulate copies among his troops immediately.

It was thought by many a matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval between the disbanding of one American army, and the raising of another, to pass away without attempting something of consequence, against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Probably general Howe's information of the affairs of the provincials was as defective, at this time, as it had all along been to the royal commanders; or, perhaps, he did not choose to run the risk of deranging the ministerial plan laid down for the campaign, especially his intended junction with general Burgoyne, by making an attack on the American army, which, if not doubtful in its issue, he had reason to believe, from past experience, would at least be attended with great loss on his side.

Had general Howe made a quick movement and attacked the provincials at that time, the event would probably have been fatal to America. The recruiting service went on so slowly, and was attended with so many untoward circumstances, that general Washington, far from being formidable in the month of March, observes, in a letter dated the 6th of that month, "If the enemy do not move, it will be a miracle: nothing but ignorance of our numbers, and situation, can protect us." He afterwards owned, that during the latter part of the winter, he and his army remained at the mercy of the royal troops, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable every moment to be dispersed, if the enemy had thought proper to march against them. The general's whole force, including militia, at Morristown, and the several outposts, amounted often to not more than 1500 men: and it has been asserted, upon apparently good authority, that he repeatedly could not muster more at Morristown than between three and four hundred. In writing officially upon the subject to the governor and council of Connecticut, the representation he gave of affairs, drew tears from the eyes of those who heard the letter read. Whilst general Washington was at this low ebb with his army, gentlemen of five thousand pounds fortune or more, and many others who were men of substance, though not equal to that, did duty as sentinels at his doors and elsewhere.

Hitherto there had been a great deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men. Fifteen hundred of the new troops from Massachusetts would have to

upon their march to join the army, but the general court could not supply them with arms. This perplexity was, however, of short continuance. On the day of its commencement, or the following, a vessel of 14 guns, from France, arrived at Portsmouth, with 11,987 stand of arms, and 1000 barrels of gunpowder.

Congress, about the same time, were under a similar distress to supply general Washington's army, and met with timely relief by the arrival of a vessel with 10,000 stand, besides a great number of gun locks.

Though general Howe made no capital stroke at the commander in chief of the Americans; yet he conducted an operation against the post at Peek's Kill, where general McDougal occupied, where a considerable quantity of provisions and stores was deposited. A detachment of 500 men, under colonel Bird, was

*March 23.* convoyed by the Brune frigate to Peek's Kill, nearly 50 miles from New York. The provincials, finding themselves unable to resist, set fire to the stores, and the British soldiers completed the conflagration, and destroyed some small craft laden with provisions. Colonel Bird, hearing that a reinforcement was expected by the Americans, re-embarked the same day.

The stores destroyed at Peek's Kill, being far greatly inferior in magnitude and importance to what the general had been led to expect, another expedition was undertaken against Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut, and contiguous to Courtland Manor, where it was said immense stores had been collected. Major general Tryon, assisted by general Agnew and sir William Erskine, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked, passed the sound, and having

*April 26.* landed between Fairfield and Norwalk, reached Danbury in twenty hours: perceiving that the country was rising to intercept their return, and being destitute of carriages to remove the stores, general Tryon immediately gave orders to burn and destroy the whole. The troops accomplished the orders without injuring the property of such as were reputed Tories. 18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 17 tents, and some other articles were lost to the Americans.

The royalists, on their return, were harassed by militia under generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, who retarded their march, until a greater force could be assembled to effect the design of cutting off their retreat. Wooster hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilst Arnold, by crossing the country, gal-

their front, in order to dispute their passage through Ridgefield, nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the British forces, which had large covering parties, well furnished with field pieces, on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which the American militia, not very numerous, had assembled, prevent them from taking advantage of every situation to interrupt the progress of the royal army.

In one of these skirmishes, general Wooster, an experienced officer, was mortally wounded, whilst fighting with all the vigour and fire of youth, though then seventy years old. He died a few days after, much honored and regretted by his country.

General Arnold, with about 500 men, next opposed them in the town of Ridgefield, where, having barricaded the road, he kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack till they made a lodgement on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at general Arnold, when not more than 30 yards distant. His horse was killed, but he escaped. Whilst he was extricating himself from his horse, which he did with great agility, a soldier ran up to stab him with his bayonet; upon which Arnold suddenly drew a pistol, and shot his enemy dead as he approached.

Next day, the Americans, having received some reinforcements with cannon, harassed the rear of the British in several detached parties, and profited by every difficulty of ground, keeping up a scattering fire upon them until they got within protection of their shipping.

The British accounts state their own loss to have been only 172 killed and wounded; of which the latter were more than two thirds: and that of the Americans to have been double the number. No officer of distinction was lost on the British side. Three field officers were wounded; one of whom was brigadier general Agnew. The Americans computed 2 or 300 men of the British to have been killed or wounded; and only 20 killed and 40 wounded on their side. Among the former, besides general Wooster, was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of great respectability and influence, and colonel Lamb was among the latter. Although the British accomplished the object of their expedition, yet the mischief done to the Americans was not at all equivalent to the trouble and loss they sustained.

Congress, in acknowledgment of the merit and services of general Wooster, resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory. They also resolve

HISTORY OF

properly caparisoned, should be  
hold, in their name, as a token of their  
of his gallant conduct.  
for this incursion, the provincials under-  
lar one against Long Island, where they  
ned that a quantity of forage, grain, and  
saries lay at the little port called Sagg Har-  
ted only by a company of foot and an armed

expedition was conducted by colonel Meigs, a  
d enterprising officer, who had attended Ar-  
his expedition to Quebec, and had been taken  
in the attempt to storm that place. On the  
May, he passed his detachment of 170 men,  
ale boats, over the sound which separates Con-  
ut from Long Island, and landed on the north  
of the island, under the convoy of two armed  
s, and another unarmed to bring off prisoners; but  
ng a narrow bay to cross before they could reach  
place of their destination, they were now obliged  
arry their boats across a neck of land before they  
ld reach it. Having surmounted this difficulty,  
lonel Meigs, with about 150 men, landed on the  
uth branch of the island, within about four miles of  
agg Harbor, leaving their boats secured in the place  
under a guard. They arrived at the place  
before day, and speedily accomplished their  
purpose, notwithstanding the resistance of  
April 24. the soldiers, and the crews of the vessels, together with  
the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up  
continual fire of round and grape shot at not more  
than 150 yards distance. Twelve brigs and every thing  
which lay at the wharf were burnt, and every thing  
on shore entirely destroyed. Six of the soldiers, consi-  
slain; and ninety prisoners were brought off, with many  
of the officer who commanded the men, with many  
the masters and crews of the vessels which the  
destroyed; and the party returned to Guilford  
Connecticut, in no longer space than 25 hours  
they had departed from it, having in that short  
traversed 90 miles by land and water, besides de-  
the vessels, without having a single man either  
or wounded. Colonel Meigs had an elegant  
presented him by congress for his good conduct  
expedition.

The season for action was now far advanced  
towards the latter end of May, Gen. Washin-  
somewhat reinforced, quitted Morristown, and  
strong position at Middlebrook; his army,

that a safe and open commun-  
and the city of New York, in  
single movement which the A-  
made, however, effectually pre-  
ment of this design, or inde-  
consequence. His camp, wind-  
the hills, was strongly intrent  
covered with artillery. He col-  
British encampment on the hill  
great part of the intermediate  
place and Amboy. His army  
numbers. Several bodies of the  
under generals Gates, Parsons, a-  
to the borders of the North River  
ready to pass over to the Jerseys,  
occasion; whilst the Jersey militia  
greatest alacrity from all quarters  
position the royal army could take,  
on all sides by its enemies. A mi-  
the Americans, made the militia ass-  
on this emergency. Signals had  
and beacons erected on high places,  
ous notice of the approach of the  
hours before the royal army began to  
of alarm, on the foundation of a false  
made. The farmers, resolved to  
sistance, in pre-

HISTORY OF THE

# HISTORY OF THE

[illegible]

June 24. was no sooner perceived in that manner, than he marched back with the utmost expedition, to off some of the American detachments, general engagement near Quibbletown of these could be accomplished, should lord Cornwallis, with his division, show considerable circuit, and thus gain possession, which would oblige the American passes, which would oblige the American to quit the advantageous ground, through this, however, he was frustrated, through vigilance of his rival. General Washington perceived the real intent of the enemy, drew his army from the plains, and expedition regained his strong camp, at the same time, so effectually he attempted against them. Lord Cornwallis with lord Sterling, who he

the Delaware, whilst the  
the American army in full so  
ed to make an attempt on Ph  
must be attended by these ma  
would be impossible for gene  
where the storm was to fall.  
his post, and the king's army w  
ble progress, before he could be  
pose them; and such a progress  
that choice of posts from which  
ed such advantage. In order  
ceixe and perplex general Wat  
general ordered some transports,  
to act as a floating battery, up the  
before the embarkation was comp  
succeeded so far as to induce th  
to detach a considerable body of  
river.

Whilst the preparations necessary  
were going forward, the American  
make amends for the capture of ge  
of general Prescott, who was seized  
Rhode Island, together with his aid  
the same manner as general Lee had  
exceedingly mortifying to the general  
not long before set a price upon  
offering a sum of money for  
him: taking



at Rhode Island. After a week's amounting in all to about 16,000 mouth of the Delaware; but there ligence, that the navigation of the ly obstructed, that no possibility of mained; or more probably, that had marched within a short dis- a; it was resolved to proceed far- Chesapeak Bay in Maryland, from to Philadelphia was not very great, icial army would find less advan- of the country than in the Jerseys. om Delaware to Chesapeak took ie month of August, and that up tremely difficult and tedious. At ig sailed up the river Elk, as far as cable, the troops were landed with- tion at Turkey Point, and set for- ed expedition.

At  
far as  
with-  
out for-



1

2

3



11





